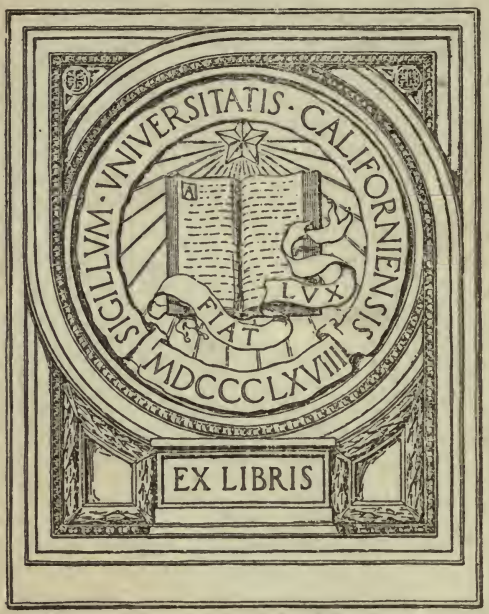
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THE MARRIED LIFE OF ANNE OF AUSTRIA

Anne of Austria

Queen — painting done immediately — her arrival — France

THE MARRIED LIFE OF ANNE OF AUSTRIA

QUEEN OF FRANCE, MOTHER OF LOUIS XIV

BY

MARTHA WALKER FREER

NEW AND REVISED EDITION

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CHAPTER I

1612–1617

ANNE OF AUSTRIA AND LOUIS XIII

On the 18th of March, 1612, proclamation was made throughout Paris of the betrothal of Louis XIII., by the grace of God King of France and Navarre, with the Infanta Marie Anne Mauricette, daughter of Philip III., King of Spain, and of Marguerite of Austria ; also of Madame Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Henri Quatre and Marie de' Medici, sister of Louis XIII., with Don Philip Prince of the Asturias, eldest son of the Catholic King.

The year 1612, from the splendid festivities which ensued, was termed L'Année des Magnificences.

In celebration of the auspicious event of the marriages, a carousal was holden in the Place Royale during the first week in April, which was followed by a succession of brilliant fêtes, balls and banquetings at the Louvre, at Fontainebleau and at St. Germain. The Spanish Ambassador, Duque de Pastraña, son of Ruy Gomez de Silva, Prince of Eboly, the famous favourite of Philip II., late King of Spain, arrived in state at the Louvre and saluted the youthful bride elect of the Prince of the Asturias, and throughout the festivities he gave her the honours due to the

consort of the heir of Spain.[1] The Duke de Mayenne, Charles de Lorraine Guise, was at the same time despatched to the court of Madrid to compliment the young Infanta in the name of his master Louis XIII., and to express the earnest desire of his Majesty to hasten her arrival in his realm.

By the signature of these marriage contracts, which bound the realms of France and Spain by double matrimonial alliance, the Regent Marie de' Medici and her reactionary faction reversed the policy of Henri Quatre, and pardoned the Spanish cabinet the calamities inflicted on the realm by the wars of the Holy League, and the perfidious intrigues and machinations which had finally compassed the assassination of a hero so dear to France.

In 1609 similar overtures for the marriage of the children of France and Spain had been summarily rejected by Henri IV. Indeed, Henry testified an invincible aversion for such alliance, "as being a step impolitic, and likely totally to alienate the crowns; for, as the grandeur of France is the humiliation of Spain, no concord is possible. France can never forgive the woes and political calamities inflicted during the past half century by the government of Spain."[2] The allies towards whom Henry inclined were the King of England, the German Protestant Princes and the Dutch Republic. The secret aim of his policy was to humble the haughty princes of Hapsburg; to break the Spanish yoke from the neck of Europe; to curtail the dominions of Austria, by exciting to revolt and

freedom her tributary kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia; and by maintaining the rights of the Electors of the Germanic Empire to choose and proclaim their Imperial Chief. Marie de' Medici, however, brought up in abject veneration for the Spanish monarchy, and actuated by intense distrust of the ministers and friends of her deceased husband, adopted, on her accession to the regency, a totally different policy. The vast preparations and edicts of Henri IV. for the campaign which his death interrupted, were cancelled. The alliance of England was for the moment abandoned; Sully was disgraced; Concini was created Marquis d'Ancre, and elevated to a place in the council; while the Holy See received assurances of the devotion of the Queen, and of her submission to the counsels and interest of his Holiness. These measures were followed by civil disaffection; the Prince de Condé, the Duke de Bouillon, the Constable de Montmorency and the Duke de Nevers retired from court and intrenched themselves within their respective governments. "France," said they, "is now governed in Turkish fashion by that scoundrel and traitor the Florentine Concini, who sells by auction the honours of the realm, and dares to set his plebeian foot on the necks of the chivalrous captains of Henri Quatre." Duplessis Mornay, "the pope of the Calvinists," deemed this an opportunity not to be neglected: the Huguenot fortresses therefore soon bristled with arms, and Mornay, exulting already in the hope of success, defied the menaces of the

Regent, and the more conciliatory overtures of his old adversary the secretary of state, Villeroy. The government of Queen Marie thus became isolated, and found support only from the Duke d'Epernon,[3] from Soissons, and other antagonists of the late minister Sully, who, for power at court, were content to connive at the assumptions of Concini. At issue with the princes of the blood and the more potent of the great vassals of the crown, with the Huguenots of the realm, and with the Protestant princes of Europe—the only policy which the Regent and her clique could oppose to combinations so hostile, was alliance offensive and defensive with Spain. The Grand-Duke of Tuscany,[4] uncle of the Queen, undertook to make the first overtures to obtain the renewal of the ancient alliance of the crowns. The Duke of Lerma,[5] prime minister of Philip III., graciously responded to the advance, and a few months later the double alliance between the children of France and Spain was proposed and accepted.

The Infanta Marie Anne Mauricette was born in the Escorial on the 22nd of September, 1601, five days before her future consort, Louis XIII. The Condésa de Altamira was her governess, and had trained her in habits of piety and in courtly devoirs. Anne was a fair and bonny child, the darling of the ceremonious court of Madrid, and of her father and her gentle mother, Marguerite.[6] She seems never to have been consigned to the dreary monotony of a royal nursery establishment, but appears to have always followed the queen her

mother. At the masques and court revels, the dainty little Infanta often appeared *en scène*, drawn by two diminutive ponies in a golden car; or upborne, by tiny nymphs of her own age, in a mimic conch-shell. Anne early lost her virtuous mother, who died at Valladolid, after giving birth to a third daughter, the infanta Marguerite—a fatal event, preceded, as it was said, by the booming of the mystic Bell of Villela,[7] which was heard throughout the peninsula. Anne was eleven years old when she was betrothed to Louis XIII., and thus became the heroine of the splendid ambassage of the Duke de Mayenne. The Duke was received with enthusiasm by the Spanish court, which, perhaps, remembered that his father and his uncle Henri, Duke de Guise, had proved themselves to be better subjects of Spain than loyal to their own princes. On the 17th of July, 1612, Mayenne was presented to Philip III. by the Duke d'Uzéda. His Majesty, by a great stretch of condescension, embraced the ambassador cordially, and presented to him the Prince of the Asturias, who stood at his right, as the future husband of Madame Isabel of France. The marriage contract, which had been negotiated in Paris, was signed on the 22nd day of August, after final revision by the Spanish privy council. Philip gave his daughter a dowry of 500,000 gold crowns, with many sumptuous jewels. The money was to be paid to the representative of his Christian Majesty, on the day previous to the celebration of the marriage. In case the most serene Infanta became a widow, it

was stipulated that she was to return to Spain in possession of her dowry, jewels and wardrobe. The dower given by Louis XIII. was similar to that assigned from time immemorial to the queens-consort of France, and consisted of rich lands in Touraine and Le Pays Chartrain ; the King also made gift absolutely to his future consort of all the jewels and precious gauds and furniture which she might accumulate during their union.[8] The pecuniary settlements being thus made to the satisfaction of King Philip, the Infanta was saluted and treated as Queen of France, " a dignity which her Highness accepts with marvellous dignity and gravity." When Mayenne took leave of her little Majesty, he requested that she would send some message to the King, her consort. " Give his Majesty assurance," promptly replied Doña Aña, " that I am very impatient to be with him." " Oh, Madame ! " interposed the Condésa de Altamira, " what will the King of France think when he is informed by M. le Duc that you are in such a hurry to be married ? Madame, I entreat you show more maidenly reserve ! " " Have you not always taught me to speak the truth, Madame ? I have spoken, and shall not retract," retorted the young Queen, pettishly.[9] She then gave the ambassador her hand to kiss, slowly tendering it, as the Duke believed, that he might observe and report its symmetry and delicate hue.

Three months previously, on the same day of the month, Pastraña had saluted Elizabeth, the child-bride of the Prince of the Asturias, in the

Louvre. Madame Elizabeth wore a surcoat and robe of carnation-coloured satin, a cross of diamonds and a chain of pearls. "M. l'Ambassadeur," said she, as Pastraña bowed before her, "I thank the King your master for the honour which he has conferred upon me in giving me his favour, and I receive gladly from M. le Prince assurances of his affection. I trust to render myself worthy of both the one and the other, as I ought."[10]

The bridegroom elect of Doña Aña, meantime, Louis, son of the great Henry, spent a wearisome youth in the Louvre, with few diversions and joys. The unhappy and premature death of Henri IV. not only exercised a fatal influence over the political destinies of France, but deprived his young son of judicious and princely training. The miserable jealousies of the favourites and advisers of Marie de' Medici, likewise, had debarred the boy-king of the example and the counsels of his father's tried and wise friends. Instead of being inured to arms, and trained in gallant accomplishments, and taught the self-denial and magnanimity becoming his kingly station, the unfortunate Louis was confined to a corner of the Louvre, the object at one time of his mother's indulgent weakness, at others the victim of her caprice and passion. The young king was of a reserved and suspicious temper, sensitive to the slightest ridicule or neglect, having a memory retentive of petty affronts. His household was not selected with a view to correct the nervous shyness and overbearing pride of his character. The

fears of the Queen, and the ignoble precaution of her servants the Marquis d'Ancre and his wife, induced her Majesty to choose young companions for her son of a class inferior to the usual *entourage* of princes. Such noble names as Rohan, Guise, Montmorency, Bouillon and La Rochefoucault were never heard amongst the playmates of Louis XIII. His chief friends were the three brothers de Luynes,[11] sons of a gentleman of Provence, of the town of Mornas, whose future marvellous fortunes rank amongst the most notable instances on record of dignities conferred by royal caprice. Louis, nevertheless, showed aptitude for many boyish pastimes: he played well at tennis, showed keen relish for the pleasures of the chase, which, unfortunately, he was allowed only to indulge by hunting rabbits in the garden of the Tuileries. He passionately loved music, and learned to play on the spinet and guitar. He also amused himself by turning ivory, by drawing and colouring little pictures, and by snaring singing-birds. His Majesty's physician, Jean Hérouard, who was constantly in waiting in the royal apartment, kept a curious diary of the doings and sayings and employments of his royal master, so minute as to become ludicrous when the learned doctor condescended to chronicle the names of the viands served daily on the royal table, and the number of times his Majesty coughed and sneezed during the twenty-four hours! The boyhood of Louis XIII., however, is unveiled by these daily jottings, and the mystery solved why the son of

Henri IV. grew up to become the most timid, miserable, suspicious and self-distrusting monarch who ever filled a throne, though possessing capacity and some appreciation for things good, noble and true. Hérouard writes :[12]

" *Monday, March* 10, 1614. His Majesty this morning amused himself by composing doggrel verses, and gave some to make out to MM. de Termes, de Courtenvault, and de Montglât. A young wild sow was fed in the royal kitchen by Bonnet, a water-carrier, who was killed by a fall. The little sow lamented and fretted for her master, and at length refused to eat and died of grief. The King thereupon composed the following verse :

" Il y avait en ma cuisine
Une petite marcassine
Laquelle est morte de douleur
D'avoir perdu son gouverneur ! "

" *Thursday,* 20*th.* The King played at tennis, and then went to the room of Sieur de la Chapelle, his spinet-player.

" *March* 28*th, Good Friday.* Heard a sermon at two o'clock ; after dinner his Majesty entered his coach, and visited the Franciscan and Feuillantine monasteries. He then went to the Tuileries, where he tasted a bunch of white grapes. He returned to the Louvre at a quarter to seven and supped upon almond milk and milk gruel, eating the backs of two large soles. His Majesty said, ' I eat this fish because there is nothing else.'

" *June* 4*th.* His Majesty dined at Ruel. At

midday the King rode on horseback, and shot, with an arquebuse, a quantity of little birds. He then went to a joiner's, and made two little shrines of his own design, in which he suspended all the little birds.

"*November* 14*th, Friday.* His Majesty commenced the day by study. As his lesson appeared to him long and difficult, he asked his preceptor, M. Fleurance, 'If I were to promise you a bishopric, pray would you shorten my lesson?' 'No, Sire,' Soon after M. de Bellegarde arrived. His Majesty gave him cordial welcome and conducted him to the Queen.

"*November* 20*th.* After supper his Majesty went to bed at nine o'clock. At eleven he suddenly rose on his knees, with eyes wide open, and, though asleep, called out loudly, 'Hé! jouez! jouez!' The day preceding he had been playing at billiards in the gallery of the Louvre, and afterwards at tennis.

"*December* 22*nd.* His Majesty went to hunt[13] on the plain of St. Denis; he was suffering from toothache, but would not confess it for fear of losing his hunt. On his return his Majesty complained of ear-ache, and a plaster of ashes of palm-leaves and vinegar was applied behind the ear. The inside of the mouth was fomented with a decoction of vinegar and rose-leaves, after which the pain subsided.

"*December* 31*st, Wednesday.* The King confessed in the evening to le P. Cotton, his confessor and preacher in ordinary, in order to touch, on the

Feast of the Circumcision, 330 sick in the great gallery of the Louvre."

The greater part of this Journal is still in manuscript. The zealous Hérouard continues, in similar fashion, to recite the smallest trivialities of the life of his royal master, with a minuteness which defies transcription. The extract given records some of the incidents of the daily life of Anne's royal bridegroom the year before the solemnization of their nuptials.

This event took place in August of the following year, 1615. The courts of France and Spain put forth their utmost splendour to do honour to an occasion so august. The Duchess de Nevers, Catherine de Lorraine, and the Duke de Guise, escorted Madame to Bordeaux and from thence to St. Jean de Luz, where, on the banks of the Bidassoa, the brides were to meet the ambassadors appointed to attend and present them to their future consorts. The King and the Queen Regent arrived at Bordeaux, and entered the city in a splendid barge, surrounded by a brilliant court, amidst the plaudits of the populace.[14] Their progress, however, had been dreary and perilous ; the devastation of civil warfare had ruined the fertile south-western provinces, and the sight of the poverty-stricken inhabitants and of their burned villages was a sad and ominous spectacle for the eyes of the royal bridegroom. The King's progress was protected by the Marshal de Brissac and a division of artillery, for many strongholds of the Huguenots lay on the route between Paris and

Bordeaux, and the joyous and brilliant cavaliers of Marie's court shrank from conflict with the rough bands of Saumur and La Rochelle, likely to oppose their advance. In the royal train were the Princesses de Condé [15] and Conty,[16] the Duchesses de Guise,[17] de Vendôme [18] and de Montbazon. Madame entered Bordeaux on the 17th of November, and their Majesties three days later, where they eagerly awaited the arrival of King Philip III. and his court at Fuentarabia.

About the beginning of November, 1615, King Philip, accompanied by his daughter and by a swarm of courtiers, leisurely journeyed from Valladolid to Burgos, and took up his abode in the famed nunnery of Las Huelgas de Burgos. The marriage by proxy of King Louis and the Infanta was celebrated in the splendid cathedral of Burgos on the 18th of the same month, the representative of his Christian Majesty being the Duke of Lerma. Two days before this solemnity, Anne made formal renunciation of her right of succession to the Spanish crown and of the rich personality and money of her deceased mother, Queen Marguerite of Austria. "I, Doña Aña, Infanta of Spain, and, by the grace of God, Queen elect of France, being above the age of fifteen—and therefore of competent years to understand the tenor and significance of the above articles—declare, that I hold myself content with the dowry assigned to me, which is larger than any other before given to an Infanta of Spain. To give greater weight to this my renunciation, I swear, with my

right hand resting on the Holy Gospels contained in this missal by my side, to abide by the said renunciation, which I sign in the presence of my lord and father and of my brothers who have been pleased to assist at this solemnity."[19]

King Louis, meantime, despatched his favourite, Luynes, from Bordeaux to Burgos, to greet his consort and to convey to her a letter.[20] The mission of this young cavalier first aroused the courtiers to the extraordinary favour with which he was regarded by the King. Luynes and his brothers Cadenet and Brantés were remarkable for their good looks and upright carriage, but they owed much of their *prestige* at court to their cool assurance and their insensibility to the scornful contempt with which they were often treated by the great lords of the court and to the gibes current respecting their origin. Luynes bowed at the feet of Marie de' Medici and of Concini, and humbly received their constant objurgations, while the King felt a grateful relief from restraint and shyness in the society of his *parvenu* favourite. It was said at court that at this period Luynes, Cadenet and Brantés had only one court-habit amongst them and that the Auvergnat brothers owed their favour to their skill in snaring magpies![21] M. de Luynes nevertheless was welcomed at the proud Spanish court; he was caressed by King Philip, patronised by Lerma and graciously received by his future royal mistress. Luynes presented the royal letter to her youthful Majesty enclosed in a portfolio of rose-

coloured silk, embroidered in pearls with the ciphers L. and A. "Madame," wrote King Louis XIII., "it is not in my power, though my inclination prompts me, to receive you on your entry into my kingdom, to place in your hands my royal power, as I am inspired to do by the sincere affection which I bear you. I send to you, therefore, Luynes, one of my most trusted servants, to salute you in my name, and to assure you how eagerly you are here expected and that I earnestly desire to tell you so myself. I beg you, therefore, to receive with favour this said Luynes, and to believe all that he may say on behalf of your dearest friend and servant—Louis."

The young Queen smiled while perusing this note; destiny then doubtless appeared to her brilliant as fancy could suggest, and with child-like eagerness she dwelt on the pomps, the festivals and the magnificences over which she had been selected to preside. Had the dark shadows which marred these splendours been even outlined in imagination, sad foreboding must have quenched her delight. The future, however, now appeared serene and halcyon. Anne therefore responded thus, in her own musical language, to the greeting so gallantly conveyed:

"ANNE OF AUSTRIA TO LOUIS XIII.

"Monseigneur,—I have rejoiced much with Luynes on the good news which he has brought to me concerning the health of your Majesty, and the desire which you express to see me. I also

wish myself there, where I can serve the Queen my mother and yourself. Luynes has made me anxious to set out on my journey from the comforting assurances which he gives me. I kiss the hand of your Majesty, whom may God preserve as I pray.—AÑA." [22]

The Queen sent her lord a present of a superb rosary, also—what doubtless would be less welcome—a list of the ladies of her Spanish household whom she wished might be permitted to continue their services in the Louvre. The Condésa de las Torres, Doña Luisa de Osorio and Doña Marguerita de Cordova were the chief personages named on this list. Her confessor, Padre Francisco de Ribeyra, and her chaplain, Pedro de Castro, were likewise to form part of her Majesty's suite. Marie de' Medici acquiesced in these impolitic appointments. The King was thoughtless and enjoyed his temporary emancipation from the monotony of the Louvre. Luynes and Concini were *parvenu* favourites—men who, at this period, being both uncertain of their position at court would have retreated aghast at a proposal to thwart the wishes of the Catholic King.

Magnificent pavilions had been erected on the islet in the midst of the stream Bidassoa for the repose of the two Princesses, and to enable them to receive a last finish to their elaborate toilettes before entering the state-barge which was to convey each to her newly adopted country. The banks of the river were kept by squadrons of light

horse and by the royal body-guard, consisting of more than 500 men, under the command of the Marshal de Brissac. Companies of the King's gentlemen-at-arms, bearing their battle-axes, were stationed at intervals, while thousands of spectators gathered to witness the meeting of the courts. The scene was imposing and magnificent, and was surpassed only by the pompous reception given on the banks of the Bidassoa to Elizabeth de Valois by her mother, Catherine de' Medici, and by her brother Charles IX. Along the banks of the river, below the place of embarkation, magnificent pavilions and platforms rose, draped with white and yellow silk hangings, for the ladies of the courts of France and Spain not officially present at the ceremony. Anne quitted Burgos November the 20th, and after taking sorrowful leave of her father, commenced her journey towards Irun. She was attended by the Duquesa de Sessa, who had been especially appointed to present her to the ambassador of her royal husband Louis XIII., and to conduct the young Princess of France to Guadalaxara. In the suite of the young Queen were the Duque de Uzéda, son of the cardinal minister Lerma, the Dukes de Sessa, Maquéda, Infantado, the Count de Olivarez and the Marquis de Monteléone, the newly appointed Spanish ambassador in Paris, besides a numerous suite of ladies, including those who were to follow her Majesty into France. Anne's journey was tedious and fatiguing; the roads were broken by heavy rains, and horses could with difficulty

be found for the transport of the prodigious cavalcade of baggage waggons containing her Majesty's bridal outfit and rich effects. The baggage filled a hundred chariots, each drawn by three horses; there were, moreover, two hundred sumpter mules laden with velvet coffers richly emblazoned with the arms of Spain. The passage of this convoy through the streets of Bordeaux occupied nine hours, to the wonderment and amusement of the loyal Bordelais.

Anne passed the night of the 23rd of November in the citadel of Irun. At dawn on the morrow the baggage crossed the Bidassoa, and at mid-day a muster of the Spanish court was made, and the cavaliers and ladies descended from the rocky heights of Irun to the bank of the river. At one o'clock the young Princess-elect of the Asturias arrived, attended by the Duchess de Nevers and the Dukes de Guise, d'Elbœuf and de Grammont, and the Prince de Joinville. Amid loud acclamations and discharges of artillery the Princess stepped into the barge, and was rowed to the landing-place on l'Ile des Faisans and immediately entered a pavilion surmounted by the white flag of Bourbon. Queen Anne simultaneously stepped into her barge from the opposite bank of the river and likewise landed and entered a pavilion crowned by the yellow flag of Spain. The French nobles presently craved audience of her Majesty, while the Spanish courtiers paid the same *devoirs* to Madame Elizabeth. The Duchess de Nevers and the Duke de

Guise presented the French nobles of the suite to the Queen. Her youthful Majesty sat on a chair of state, attired in a robe of green satin embroidered with gold, having wide and pendent sleeves looped up with bouquets of diamonds. A small ruff of fine Flemish lace encircled Anne's delicate neck. Her fair hair fell in ringlets, and she wore a small coquettish hat of green satin, looped with strings of pearls and adorned by a heron's plume. A fresh and blooming face greeted the eyes of the fastidious courtiers, and a complexion of dazzling brilliancy said to be unrivalled in Europe. The Queen's eyes were blue and piercing, her brows were arched, her figure was *petite* and graceful though somewhat spoiled by an enormous *pannier*. Behind the Queen stood the Duchess de Sessa, the Condésa de las Torres and the chief hidalgos of her suite. The maidens and women of the bedchamber formed a half circle on each side of the royal chair, sitting in Moorish fashion on velvet cushions and flirting their fans. The ceremony of salutation performed, her Majesty rose and quitted the pavilion. Madame Elizabeth did the same, and the Princesses exchanging a cordial kiss, moved slightly apart and conversed, while their attendants delivered to each other the long speeches prepared for the occasion. These over, the Duque de Uzéda approached Queen Anne, and kneeling, kissed her hand, which he placed in that of the Duke de Guise, who led her to the boat adorned by the French flag. Guise then repeated this ceremonial,

and delivered Madame Elizabeth to the Duque de Uzéda. The Duchess de Nevers then took her place behind Queen Anne, and the Duchess de Sessa behind the young Princess of the Asturias, who could not refrain from weeping bitterly, in defiance of etiquette, on taking leave of her French suite. The barges then pushed off amid a discharge of artillery and the cheers of the spectators.[23]

Her Majesty reposed that night in the citadel of Bayonne, and early the following morning she departed for Bordeaux, where Louis anxiously awaited her. The royal residence in Bordeaux was the archiepiscopal palace. Anne was received in the great hall of the palace by the Queen Regent, attended by a numerous court. Marie embraced her daughter-in-law, and after conversing for a few seconds led Anne into an inner apartment, where Louis XIII. waited attended by de Luynes. Louis wore the mantle of his Order; his sword was girt at his side and the rich collar of St. Esprit glittered on his breast. The King eagerly stepped forward and, taking the hand of his bride, saluted her on the forehead. "Every one was amazed at the striking likeness subsisting between the royal pair. His Majesty frequently looked at his bride smiling, while her Majesty, notwithstanding that she seemed much oppressed with the weight and amplitude of her attire, could not help smiling very lovingly also."[24] Louis continued to stand awkwardly gazing on the fair face of his bride, until, at a sign from Queen Marie, he

timidly took her hand and led her into the sheltering recess of a deep window, where the youthful pair conversed for upwards of half an hour, being presently joined by de Luynes. Anne next went through the ceremony of receiving the ladies of the French court, who were presented by the Duchess de Nevers; her Majesty then introduced her Spanish ladies to the King, and earnestly commended them to his favour. Louis, however, received their homage with frowning reserve, and turning to M. de Luynes whispered some sneering observation on the stately salutation of the Condésa de las Torres, which appeared to convulse the favourite with suppressed laughter.

The ceremony of the marriage was performed in the cathedral of Bordeaux on the Feast of St. Catherine. The Princess de Conty and the Duchesses de Guise and de Vendôme bore the train of Anne's bridal robe of cloth of silver. The Queen wore a rich diadem of diamonds, the gift of her royal father; her hair was dressed *à la Française*, and the spectators applauded her girlish grace as she daintily rested on the arm of the Duke de Guise, who, with the Duke d'Elbœuf, escorted her to the altar. The Regent was present at the ceremony, arrayed in mourning robes. The nuptial benediction was given by the Bishop of Saintes, as eldest suffragan bishop of the diocese, in the absence of the Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux. The royal pair left the cathedral at six in the evening, and were escorted to their abode by torchlight.

The court quitted Bordeaux about the 29th of November and travelled to Tours, where their Majesties spent the winter months in seclusion. During this interval the treaty of Loudun was signed by the Regent—an act which was important in every aspect, as it outwardly reconciled the *de facto* government with the ministers and adherents of the policy of Henri Quatre. The treaty checked the almost boundless power of the Marquis d'Ancre by bringing back to the Louvre the great peers of the realm; it conciliated the Huguenot faction, and allayed the frantic apprehensions raised by the matrimonial alliances with Spain. The treaty was warmly promoted by M. de Luynes, who from thenceforth ventured to wrestle against the hitherto omnipotent influence of the Marquis d'Ancre and his wife. To Marie de' Medici the pacification was also welcome, although Condé became installed thereby as President of the Council of State. She trusted by this compact to find an antidote to Spanish ascendency in her domestic circle, and to the influence exercised over her royal son by the charms of his bride. The King on the whole was satisfied, as his favourite declared himself content, though piqued that peace had been negotiated and signed without his own intervention. By the articles of Loudun the Huguenot faith once more received distinct recognition from government, and Huguenot members were declared eligible to sit in the Parliament of Paris. No foreigner was from thenceforth to be naturalised in France with a

view to his instalment in offices of state; Condé was to preside over and to countersign the Privy Council edicts; and all fiefs and properties confiscated for past rebellion were to be restored to their former possessors. The Marquis d'Ancre relinquished his government of Normandy to M. de Longueville, and ceded the citadel of Amiens. Measures so popular were nevertheless distasteful to the young Queen, who was injudiciously exhorted by the Spanish ambassador, the Marquis de Monteléone, to exert her influence in opposition to Queen Marie and to M. de Luynes to procure their withdrawal. The position of the Infanta-queen, as Anne at this period was called, required prudence, the nicest counsel and exquisite tact. A child still in age, mind and manner, the young Queen ought to have been exhorted to avoid politics, and to shrink from participation in that wild and complex struggle of parties which bewildered the strongest intellects. It was, however, the unhappy persuasion of the Queen that her mission was to revolutionise the policy of her adopted country; to introduce by force or by persuasion Spanish maxims, Spanish habits and Spanish policy—emphatically to serve her country by upholding the policy, the religion and the dynasty of Spain against all assailants. Thoroughly imbued with the maxims and the instructions showered upon her by her father, King Philip, and by her brothers before leaving Spain, Anne devoted herself, as far as her ability permitted, to carry out the advice secretly tendered to her

by Monteléone, who had at this period free access to the palace.[25] Anne had been advised to flatter the Queen-mother; to conciliate the Marquis d'Ancre and his wife; to despise M. de Luynes; to win her husband the King by tender submission and grace; but yet to show herself of inflexible resolve in all matters wherein the honour and interest of Spain were concerned. Thus, although she was exhorted to fidelity and secrecy whenever state matters were imparted to her ear, her Majesty was desired to make exception to this rule in favour of Monteléone,[26] to whom she was to confide all matters, even of the most private and domestic nature. Anne, therefore, soon became a puppet in the hands of Monteléone, while she fancied that she was fulfilling her duties as Queen consort and asserting her independence, by her submission to counsels sanctioned by her royal father. The withering glance of Marie de' Medici, however, rested on her young daughter-in-law, whose girlish presumption she resolved to chastise. More fatal, however, for the happiness of Anne of Austria, was the enmity of de Luynes; the favourite angrily resented the contempt of his young mistress and loathed her condescensions. The mind of Louis XIII. must therefore be fortified against Anne's fascinations; the more especially as the assiduous court paid by the Spanish ambassador to the Marquis d'Ancre appeared to indicate the willingness of his Catholic Majesty to favour the usurping rule of Concini. The King spent his days in listless

discontent, lounging about the apartments of his consort, and associating her in many of his boyish pastimes. Sometimes in petulant disgust at her Spanish *entourage*, Louis suddenly left her apartments and took refuge within his own, vowing never again to visit the Queen until her grim duennas were banished from the palace.

Early in the year following her marriage, Anne had taken possession of apartments at the Louvre, while the Regent retired to the Luxembourg, a palace which owed its noble embellishments to her taste and munificence. "The household of our young Queen," wrote Montelé-one, "is not yet named. Her apartments at the Louvre are suitable to her Majesty's dignity. The Countesses de Castro and de Torres (the latter is an angel, whose merits defy laudation), are lodged near to their mistress. The Infanta-queen is daily received with cordial delight by her subjects." [27] Notwithstanding the splendour of her outward position, Anne's affection reverted to Spain, to its peaceful palaces, reverent court, sunny climate, but, above all, she pined for the lively sympathy which there surrounded her. "Tell my father," writes she at this period, "that nothing but my beloved Spain can solace me." Amongst the grievances complained of by Anne to her father was the diversity of counsel given by her French and Spanish advisers. Marie de' Medici, through Madame d'Ancre, sent word to her daughter commanding her to conform to French fashions in her dress, to sprinkle her fair

hair with powder, and to lay aside her enormous hoop; also her Majesty intimated that the French loved gay and sprightly women, apt of speech, and agile in the dance, and that no demeanour so offended them as solemn *hauteur* and distant formality. Anne, therefore, only too readily arrayed herself in the most bewitching *modes à la Française;* and, yielding to the vivacity of her character, charmed the courtiers by her sallies and by her eager participation in the pastimes of the court. The next mail that left for Madrid carried out a joint despatch from Madame de las Torres and from the ambassador, Monteléone, deploring the volatile disposition of their child-mistress, who revelled in her French fripperies and appeared to love that costume better than the decorous robes patronised in the land of her birth. The ambassador next comments on the quarrels of the royal pair, "who often disputed, like froward children, over their pastimes." He then proceeds to censure the undue influence exercised by Marie de' Medici over the King, especially complaining that the Queen-mother and M. de Luynes prevented his Majesty from demonstrating proper conjugal devotion towards his consort, by inspiring chimerical fears of the danger which might be apprehended from the birth of offspring at a period when his Majesty himself had scarcely attained to manhood. "It is a grievous fact that their Majesties live together as brother and sister," continues Monteléone. He then querulously continues to complain of—

"Cette Anne si belle,
Qu'on vante si fort."

"The Infanta-queen continues in good health; it is very much to be desired, to render this Majesty all perfection, that we could correct certain irregularities of character, though every one ascribes her Majesty's unfortunate flightiness of manner to her youth. Her Majesty never speaks without jesting like a child; we cannot induce her to apply herself to serious matters; she forgets all counsels and instruction with incredible facility; and her petulance is such that we have neither leisure nor courage to interfere. I must add that although we give continual attention to correct these defects, and to induce this young Queen to adopt manners more worthy of her descent and position, we are very careful not to disgust or alienate her. We have now arranged that her Majesty's confessor shall visit and converse with her daily on matters private and domestic, but I dread the weariness and impatience which these interviews will finally, but too surely, inspire."[28] A fête occasionally enlivened the dull monotony of the court. The King gave a superb masked ball at the Louvre in the year 1616, during which their Majesties danced together. Anne performed a saraband with her royal consort, and was arrayed in great splendour.

The burdened spirit of Marie de' Medici, however, found little pleasure in the pageantries which charmed her daughter-in-law. Marie beheld her

precious but much abused power passing away; and deep dejection oppressed her. The Pacification of Loudun had brought little intermission to her anxieties. Before the signature of that compact she had wrestled with the malcontents in distant provinces; now, all the old ministers of Henri Quatre, the Huguenot chieftains, the great lords of the realm who had abandoned Paris rather than bow before the *parvenu* Concini,[29] swarmed in the saloons of the Louvre and clamoured that every privilege granted at Loudun should be conceded. Condé tyrannised over the council, defied the commands of their Majesties, and had compelled Concini, after despoiling him of his most prized governments, to retire from Paris, to the grief and consternation of Queen Marie and the downfall of her authority. Louis apparently beheld these discords with composure, though in reality he was profoundly displeased. The Spanish ambassador, M. de Luynes and the Papal Nuncio, directed the King's attention to the league forming between MM. de Guise, de Buillon, de Vendôme and de Mayenne, under the banner of Condé to curtail the royal power, the which conspiracy had its origin alone in their jealousy of Concini. Marie, goaded to extremity, sought to extricate herself by commanding the arrest of Condé; which great event was effected by M. de Thémines in the Louvre, as the Prince quitted her Majesty's presence.[30] Orders were then issued for the arrest of the colleagues of M. le Prince; but MM. de Vendôme and de Mayenne, on the first

symptoms of agitation, fled from Paris; while Bouillon received timely warning of the event at Charenton and escaped to Soissons. Riots ensued in Paris on the arrest of Condé; the windows of the Hôtel Concini were smashed, and a turbulent rabble assaulted the Queen's palace of the Luxembourg, and forcing an entrance therein, burned and destroyed rich furniture to the value of 200,000 crowns. A council of war was hastily formed, and measures adopted to subdue the rebellion of the fugitive princes, and to arrest their persons. Condé was transferred to the Bastille by Thémines and Bassompierre,[31] the former of whom received the bâton of Marshal for his services on this occasion.

The young Queen, meantime, applauded the resolution of the Regent, and during the tumult following the arrest of Condé, remained calm and composed and joyous, "as if, Sire, she had been seated within your palace of Madrid!" By the overthrow of Condé Anne fancied that she descried redemption for her Spanish ladies from heretic threats, and the repression of the insolent assumptions of de Luynes. Marie herself was not, however, deceived by the success of her hazardous experiment. The sombre silence of her son, and the half-satirical earnestness of his refusals to assume the conduct of affairs, which she had on more than one occasion proposed to relinquish, filled her mind with foreboding. France trembled on the verge of a civil war; names potent in the provinces, such as Longueville, Nevers, Guise,

Mayenne, Vendôme, Bouillon, La Rochefoucault, Soissons, had raised the standard of revolt against a government guided by Concini, the Florentine gambler.[32] The Huguenots flew to arms for the rescue of Condé; Sully, Villeroy, Bellièvre, Duplessis-Mornay, Rohan, Lesdiguières, inscribed their honoured names at the foot of manifestoes calling upon the people to save the monarchy and the King. Paris had risen to avenge the "perfidious" arrest of Condé, the hero of the hour; and the Chamber beheld many of its members dissolve in tears, as eloquent orators descanted on the woes which afflicted the realm under the administration of the widow of Henri Quatre. Never had an ambitious and artful favourite a more plausible and popular ground for the overthrow of an adversary.

The King, meantime, on his return from St. Germain, was seized with a fit of epilepsy on All Saints' Day, 1616. The Regent was performing her devotions in the chapel of Feuillantine monastery, when summoned in haste back to the Louvre. Concini and his wife, during the panic, got possession of the little Duke of Orleans, heir presumptive to the throne, and ordered the Queen's guards to take possession of the principal avenues of the palace and to dislodge therefrom the soldiers of Vitry's tried body-guard. In a few hours Louis recovered his senses and in three days became convalescent. Queen Marie, in conversing with Du Vair, keeper of the seals, imprudently asked him what he thought of his Majesty's sudden

seizure? Du Vair said that he feared the fit might return during the forthcoming spring; which opinion, Marie, with her usual want of caution, repeated to Hérouard, first physician to Louis, who confided her Majesty's observation to de Luynes.[33] The latter immediately sought his royal master in feigned consternation, and avowed his belief that a plot was in agitation to deprive his Majesty of life by slow poison at a banquet about to be offered to the King by the Duke de Vendôme at the instigation of M. d'Ancre:[34]—"Sire," said the artful favourite, "MM. the Princes in alleged revolt are loyal to your Majesty, but the Queen your mother persecutes them out of regard for M. le Maréchal d'Ancre. Sire, one unanimous wail of sorrow was heard throughout the provinces during your late illness!" The murmur of coming disaster, meanwhile, overwhelmed the unhappy Concini and his wife—at times he besought the latter to fly from the realm for the safety of their lives, their son, and their enormous wealth.[35] His late temporary exile on the demand of the Princes had filled his mind with dismay, while the premature death at this season of his only daughter he regarded as a fatal omen. At times Concini seemed to brave adversity, and proudly declared that he would not abandon the Queen, but would test "how far the luck of an adventurer could go." The wily de Luynes did not fail to report to his royal master every alternation of his enemy's mood, whether of humility or arrogance. In a moment of despair

the Marquis confessed to Bassompierre that he possessed the enormous sum of six millions of gold crowns, "*sans parler de la bourse de ma femme.*" Moreover, that he had recently offered to the Pope the sum of 600,000 livres for a life interest in the revenue of the duchy of Ferrara. "Sire," thereupon said de Luynes, "Concini is king of this realm; he exercises absolute sway over this kingdom; he defies your authority and wishes the ruin of the Princes. He has possessed himself of the mind of the Queen your mother, whom he bends to his will, besides influencing her heart towards Monsieur your brother more than towards yourself. He is daily in the habit of consulting astrologers and wise men on the probable duration of your life. Your council is devoted to him, and when we ask for money for your Majesty's privy purse none is forthcoming. His return from Normandy without your permission was, Sire, an unwarrantable audacity. As for her Majesty the Queen-mother, you, Sire, may imagine how potent may become her power when the loyal rebellion of MM. les Princes is subdued. Will not her servants participate in this increased authority to the detriment, nay, to the probable subversion, of your prerogative?" These words festered on the irritated mind of the King—already that jealousy of his only brother Gaston, from which such lamentable after-results flowed, rankled in the heart of Louis. "The three brothers de Luynes," wrote the ambassador Monteléone to Madrid, "are well intentioned

cavaliers, but with little talent or genius; nevertheless, the King is greatly attached to them. It is, however, well that your Majesty should be aware that there is now a deadly feud between the Marquis d'Ancre and this de Luynes; it is necessary for the Infanta-queen to exercise the greatest circumspection in her demeanour, but, as yet, she has not committed any error." Orders thereupon arrived from Madrid to treat "the brothers" with distinction. Monteléone, when communicating to the ambitious favourite a flattering assurance of the good-will of the Catholic King, received in reply from de Luynes the words, accompanied by an expressive gesture: "I understand your Excellency, and at a suitable period you will perceive that I have accepted and profited by your message." [36] With subtle perfidy de Luynes, having thus encompassed his rival, brought the dark anger of the King to a climax by becoming the medium of communications between his Majesty and some of the revolted lords, who offered to return to court on the exile of Concini; protesting that, that personage alone, by his tyranny and exactions, had been the cause of their temporary defection. Vitry, captain of the body-guard, at length received commands to arrest the Marquis d'Ancre and convey him to the Bastille. These orders were given second-hand to M. de Vitry, who himself graphically records his amazement on receiving such an important mandate from the lips of two inferior gentlemen of the wardrobe, and of one of the

gardeners of the Tuileries, high in the good graces of Louis for his skill in trapping little birds.[37] Hatred of the unfortunate Marquis, fear of the powerful favourite, and the bribe of a promise of the vacant bâton of Marshal of France, induced Vitry to swear to keep the design secret from Queen Marie and to accept the office—indeed, the future tenure of his post as chief captain of the guard compelled his acquiescence.

The measures of the conspirators were hastened by an act of sudden and ill-timed energy on the part of the Queen. Suspecting the machinations of Luynes, Marie, though she had several times affected to abdicate her authority, determined upon the exile of the favourite, and actually gave a mandate, without previously consulting the King, forbidding the brothers to present themselves at the Louvre, on the plea, "that they had concocted a plot to send the King from Paris," by which assertion her Majesty hoped to incite a *soulèvement* of the Parisian populace.[38] This fresh *tracasserie* completed the exasperation of the King. Hitherto his Majesty had resisted the sanguinary malevolence of his favourite, but now Louis gave permission that weapons might be used in case Concini opposed the mandate of arrest. Luynes therefore shaped his instructions to compass the end which he had long meditated. The *guet-à-pens* planned by one infamous man to compass the destruction of another equally infamous, met with a successful result on the morning of the 24th of

April, 1617. The Marquis d'Ancre was passing from the drawbridge of the Louvre towards the wicket leading into the grand court, when Vitry, followed by twenty archers, arrested him in the King's name. The marquis turned sharply, and placing his hand on the hilt of his sword, exclaimed, "*Moi? prisonnier!*" The words were scarcely uttered when three pistols, fired by Vitry, Duhallier and De Perrans, were discharged at the unfortunate man, who fell dead on the pavement, at the feet of Vitry. Awful silence prevailed for a few seconds. At length, Louis showed himself at a window attended by De Luynes, who raised the sash; shouts arose of "*Vive le Roy! À bas le tyran!*" The young King raised his hat, and advancing, exclaimed, addressing the conspirators: "*Grand' merci à vous! À présent je suis Roi!*" Luynes then ordered the gates of the Louvre to be closed, and the guards to be drawn out.[39] The body of the unfortunate Concini was dragged by the hair of the head to a porter's lodge at hand and ignominiously cast upon a heap of straw. Vitry then entered the palace and publicly received the royal thanks, having first excused himself on the execution done, on the plea, "that M. d'Ancre offered such resistance as to render his arrest impossible." The grand gallery of the Louvre, meantime, became crowded with courtiers, aghast at the catastrophe. Presently appeared Richelieu, bishop of Luçon, who stealthily approached to gather tidings for his mistress, Queen Marie. The King, Richelieu relates, was standing on a

billiard-table, talking excitedly, and receiving the congratulations of his court.[40] A few hours after, Vitry was sent on a mission to arrest the Marquise d'Ancre. The unfortunate woman was ill in bed; she was roughly aroused and conveyed to a prison-chamber in the Louvre, and a few days subsequently transported to the Bastille, after undergoing a severe interrogatory, and from thence to that prison, in all ages of fatal omen, the Conciergerie. Marie de' Medici was next forbidden to leave her apartments; her regiment of guards was broken; and the Louvre committed to the safe keeping of the Marshal de Vitry. The body of the deceased marquis was wrapped in a cere-cloth, and buried at midnight in an obscure grave under the organ gallery of the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois. The populace, however, on the morrow violated the grave, and tearing the body therefrom dragged it through the streets of Paris, and after frightful mutilations, hung it by the feet from a gibbet. Three days after this assassination, an edict emanated from the royal pen bestowing the immense confiscation of the property of the Marquis d'Ancre on M. de Luynes, together with the diamonds and *parures* of his wife —a collection so magnificent as to equal, if not surpass, the contents of the jewel-caskets of the Queen-mother.[41]

M. de Luynes [42] had now scaled the perilous eminence of royal favour: he had attained to princely wealth, and needed only a suitable matrimonial alliance to confirm his fortunes and

to win, as he hoped, the favour of Queen Anne of Austria.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

[1] MS. Bibl. Imp. Colbert 500, vol. 140, p. 32. Mém. de Wicquefort, t. 1, p. 4.

[2] Histoire de la Mère et du Fils, t. 1. This history was written by the Cardinal de Richelieu, and published during the cardinal's lifetime, under the name of Eudes de Mezeray, who was historiographer to the king.

[3] Jean Louis Nogaret de la Valette, Duc d'Epernon, born in 1554. The Duke, a cadet of La Valette, was raised to his dignities by King Henri III., whose favourite he became. He married Marguerite de Foix Candale, a princess allied to the blood royal. The Duke d'Epernon died in 1646, at the age of 88. "Tout chez lui était splendeur et faste."

[4] Ferdinand 1st, Cardinal, Grand-Duke of Tuscany. His consort was Christine de Lorraine, daughter of Duke Charles III. of Lorraine, and of Claude de France, daughter of Henri II. and Catherine de' Medici.

[5] Don Francisco Rojos de Sandoval, Duke of Lerma, minister and favourite of Philip III., King of Spain.

[6] Marguerite of Austria, daughter of Charles, Archduke of Grätzen, and niece of the Emperor Maximilian II.

[7] See History of Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, chap. 3.

[8] Leonard, Contrats et Traités de Paix, etc. MS. Archives de Simancas, K. 22, quoted by Capefigue, Vie d'Anne d'Autriche.

[9] Dreux du Radier, Vie d'Anne d'Autriche.

[10] Godefroy, L'Ordre et Cérémonies observées au Mariage de Philip IV. (then Prince of the Asturias) avec Madame Elizabeth, fille de Henri le Grand—Grand Cérémonial de France, pp. 70, et seq.

[11] The three brothers bore the names of Luynes, Brantés, and Cadenet. The eldest, Charles d'Albert de Luynes, was born in 1578. His godfather was Henri Quatre (Mercure de France, t. v.), which fact at once contradicts the stories current at court of the plebeian origin of the brothers. He was created Duke de Luynes and Constable of France; Brantés was created Duke de Luxembourg, on his marriage with the daughter of the Prince de Tingry; Cadenet was created Duke de Chaulnes, on his marriage with the daughter and heiress of the Vidame d'Amiens, M. de Péquigny.

[12] Journal du Roy Louis XIII., par M. Jehan Hérouard, son Premier Médecin.—MS. Bibl. Imp. Colbert, 2601. 6 vols. in fol.

[13] "Le 8, Mercredi, 1614, le Roy pour la première fois va à la chasse. M. de Souvré aussi luy fait prendre une jupe de chasse fourrée de martes; la prend avec regret, disant que tout ceux qui le verront se moqueront de luy, qu'il est habillé en paysan. Il conteste jusqu'à une heure et demie;

enfin, il s'y résout et va voler le milan à la plaine de Grenelle, où il monte à cheval et prend le milan. Estant de retour, fait jeter le milan par la fenestre et luy donne la vie." . . . "Le 19, Dimanche, nourrit deux petits coqs, et pour les rendre courageux, leur donne du vin de clairet."

[14] Godefroy, Grand Cérém., t. 2, pp. 60–80.

[15] Charlotte Marguerite de Montmorency, daughter of Henri Constable de Montmorency.

[16] Louise Marguerite de Lorraine Guise, daughter of Henri Duc de Guise, slain at Blois, 1588.

[17] Henriette de Joyeuse, who had first espoused the Duke de Montpensier.

[18] Françoise de Lorraine Mercœur. Her husband was the son of Henri IV. and Gabrielle d'Estrées.

[19] MS. Archives de Simancas, A. No. 65, quoted by M. Capefigue.

[20] Tallemant, that cruel satirist, writes, "Le roi commença par son cocher Saint-Amour à témoigner de l'affection pour quelqu'un. Il voulut envoyer quelqu'un qui lui pût bien rapporter comme la princesse d'Espagne était faite. Il se servit pour cela du père de son cocher, comme si c'eut été pour voir des chevaux."—Hist. 79.

[21] Capefigue, Vie d'Anne d'Autriche.—MS. Simancas, B. 5.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Godefroy, Grand Cérém. de France, t. 2, p. 70, et seq.

[24] Godefroy, Grand Cérém. de France, t. 2, p. 84.—Brief Narré de ce qui s'est passé à Bordeaux depuis le 21 de Novembre jusqu'au 29 du même mois.

[25] The instructions given to Anne of Austria, before she quitted Spain, still exist in their original draught at Simancas. The young Queen was exhorted to court the Queen-mother. It appears that Anne, young as she was, had already given tokens of ability for intrigue and dissimulation. The instructions contain this phrase: "Avienterla que aunque no paresce sabe mucho, este muger sabe mucho!" It is there also laid down as an injunction by the Spanish Government, that information of the opinions and intended measures of the French Government were to be obtained by the Queen at any cost or risk whatever.

[26] Don Hettore Pignatello, Duke of Monteléone, and Viceroy over Catalonia.

[27] Capefigue, Vie d'Anne d'Autriche.—Archives de Simancas, A. 74.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Concini had purchased in 1610, a few months after the death of Henri Quatre, the marquisate d'Ancre, for the sum of 130,000 livres.

[30] Histoire de la Mère et du Fils, année 1617.

[31] Journal de ma Vie.

[32] All kinds of evil suspicions were engendered by the Queen's familiarity with Concini. The Count de Lude one day being present when one of Marie's ladies was sent to bring her Majesty's veil,

exclaimed, *sotto voce*, "Un vaisseau qui est *à l'ancre* n'a pas besoin de voile." Which piece of wit flew throughout Paris.—Tallemant ; Dreux du Radier.

[33] Bassompierre, Hist. de ma Vie.—Histoire de la Mère et du Fils.

[34] Mem. Anecdotes, ou Galerie des Personnages de la Cour de France, sous les Règnes de Henri IV. et Louis XIII.

[35] Bassompierre, Journal de ma Vie.

[36] Capefigue, Anne d'Autriche, p. 44.—MS. de Simancas, A. 74.

[37] The name of this person was du Buisson.

[38] Journal de ma Vie, Bassompierre.

[39] Hist. des plus Illustres Favoris, Dupuy,—Elzévir, in 8vo. Journal de ma Vie, Bassompierre.—Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII.

[40] "Ah, M. de Luçon," exclaimed the King, slyly, "me voilà enfin Roi ! "

[41] Immense possessions in valuables fell also to the lot of the lucky favourite. In a cabinet in the apartment of the marquis a casket was found containing jewels to the amount of 200,000 francs. M. d'Ancre had had the precaution to invest large sums of money in foreign securities : these sums some of the sovereigns refused to pay over to M. de Luynes ; others obeyed the wish of King Louis. The son of the marquis, however, eventually came into the possession of about 16,000 livres of annual revenue.

[42] A popular song of the period, sung about all the streets of the capital, spoke thus of de Luynes and his brothers—

D'Enfer le chien a trois têtes
Garde l'huis avec effroi ;
En France trois grosses bêtes
Gardent d'approcher le Roy !

CHAPTER II

1617–1625

ANNE OF AUSTRIA AND THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

The catastrophe which had overthrown the reigning powers of the court did not at first affect the daily life of the young Queen. The King and de Luynes being both secretly uneasy at the success of their plot, sought solace by appealing to Anne's sympathy and co-operation. On the day of the death of the Marquis, Louis dined with his consort, and affected an ease and merriment which he was far from feeling. Numerous arrests followed the *coup d'état:* all the chief adherents of the Queen-mother were exiled or lost office. As for Marie herself, she remained under guard in her apartments.[1] Louis sent a message to his mother, stating his intention to assume the conduct of affairs and praying her Majesty to absent herself for a period from Paris, by doing which she would enable him to prove himself, as always, her dutiful and devoted son. The greatest fear was manifested by de Luynes lest the Queen should obtain an interview with her son, and to keep the two apart was the anxious aim of this subtle plotter. Louis displayed unnatural indifference to the position of his mother, and suffered various plans for her safe custody to be discussed in his presence, the speakers permitting themselves the

utmost latitude in censuring her demerits. At length it was resolved to send the Queen to Blois in a condition of semi-captivity. Marie sullenly acquiesced, but asked permission before her departure to see the King, and to take leave of the princesses and ladies of the court. The interview was reluctantly granted by the King, or permitted by de Luynes. It was then resolved that the Queen's farewell should be made in the presence of the newly-appointed ministers, and that Marie should bind herself to say nothing to her son but the words contained on a paper forwarded to her through the Bishop of Luçon. The conditions were hard on the fallen Queen; the new ministers were men whom she had mortally offended, and whom she had dismissed soon after her accession to power. The majority were the old ministers of Henri Quatre, who were cordially greeted by the people on their resumption of office. The King entered his mother's apartment hand in hand with M. de Luynes, and preceded by the two brothers of the latter, Cadenet and Brantés; his Majesty was also attended by Villeroy, Jeannin, Gêsvres, Sillery du Vair and others.

The Queen approached and made the speech which she had promised to utter; it merely stated her anxious desire for his Majesty's prosperity, and her sorrow at having incurred his displeasure. Marie then lowered her voice, and said some beseeching words. The King, however, hastily assured his mother of his affectionate care, but that he was now King and would suffer

no colleague in the government. His Majesty, making a low bow, then took his leave. De Luynes next approached and kissed the Queen's robe ; Marie spoke a few words in a whisper ; she then requested his intercession for the steward of her household, M. Barbin. Before Luynes could reply, the voice of the King was heard calling from the bottom of the staircase, " Luynes ! Luynes ! " The latter then withdrew in silence and rejoined his royal master. The doors of the Queen's apartments were then thrown open, and during the whole afternoon she received the farewell visits of the court.[2] Marie's self-command was amazing, and it is asserted that throughout her bitter ordeal she never shed a tear. This firmness disquieted the coward heart of M. de Luynes, as he attributed her Majesty's composure to the fierceness of her wrath and her craving for revenge, which swallowed up every minor feeling. This opinion, it is averred, induced him to sanction the persecution of Marie's servants which ensued, as he hoped to render a reconciliation impossible. Some of the ladies of the court wept at this parting interview. Marie coldly remarked : " Mesdames, weep not for me ; it is long ago since I requested the King to relieve me from the burden of his affairs. If my actions have displeased the King, I feel also displeased with myself ; nevertheless, I know that some day his Majesty will acknowledge that all that I have done has been just and politic. As for the Marquis d'Ancre, I pray for his soul ; I pray also that the King may

be pardoned for the crime by which he was persuaded to remove him ! " Marie shed a few tears on parting with her little son, Gaston Duke of Orleans, then in his ninth year ; she also very affectionately kissed her daughters, Mesdames Christine and Marie Henriette. The young Queen does not seem to have paid her mother-in-law any visit of farewell ; but as Queen Marie entered her coach to leave Paris in the evening, the King and Queen surveyed the cortège from a window of the palace, and both bowed their farewells. The streets of Paris were thronged with spectators, by whom the demeanour of the departing Queen was scanned with curious eye. No enthusiasm, no words of sympathy diminished the humiliation of Marie's exit from the capital over which she had so long and imperiously reigned. Marie was attended by the officers of her household, including the Bishop of Luçon, who then filled the post of her Majesty's *secrétaire des commandements*.

The King and Queen left Paris immediately after the Queen-mother and repaired to Vincennes. From thence edicts were issued which displaced most of the public officers nominated during the regency. Barbin, the trusted servant of the Queen-mother, was consigned to the Bastille, and the trial of the unfortunate Marquise d'Ancre was commenced, and brought to a termination by a sentence of decapitation. This decree was executed on the 8th of July, 1617, the miserable and half-insane woman being condemned

as a witch and guilty of high treason in the sight of God and man.[3]

The "poor little Cadet of Albert" was now the grandest gentleman of the realm, and the owners of the most illustrious names in France bowed before the resplendency of his power. Endowed with the wealth of Concini, adored by the King, and the partner of his Majesty's weekly raids on the "*pies grièches*" of the royal domains, de Luynes prospered. Grand alliances, however, were necessary to give permanent lustre to this splendour. While the miserable little son of the Marshal d'Ancre, who once bore the name of Conte de Peña, had become a beggar, charitably sheltered in the hôtel of the Count de Fiesque—and who, a few hours after the cruel execution of his mother, had been compelled to execute a saraband with one of Anne's Spanish maidens for the diversion of her Majesty[4]—de Luynes availed himself of the wealth of which Concini had been despoiled to purchase a wife whose rank might accord with the altitude of his fortune. Hercule de Rohan, Duke de Montbazon, Governor of Paris and l'Ile de France, had at this period an only daughter, Marie de Rohan, by his deceased wife, Madelaine de Laval Lenoncourt. Mademoiselle de Montbazon, who had just completed seventeen years, was a charming and beautiful girl, gifted with extraordinary powers of intellect, but wilful, wayward, daring, proud of her princely lineage, and disposed to dispute the *pas* with any dame of the court. Marie possessed a witty and an

audacious tongue ; she loved splendour, and the gorgeous attire which set off her noble figure. She belonged to the band of the Queen's maids of honour ; but hitherto the freedom of Mademoiselle de Montbazon's humour had debarred her from the favour of her royal mistress, whose rigid Spanish etiquette was severely shocked by the *abandon*, only however of manner, in which Marie indulged. This future famous favourite of Anne of Austria had been attached to the court for about eighteen months, without eliciting a single mark of regard from the young Queen, when M. de Luynes demanded her hand. The courtiers heard with incredulous bewilderment that the son of "*ce petit capitaine de Luynes*," the once indigent *protégé* of the Count de Lude, aspired to alliance with the princely Rohans, kinsmen of his Majesty Louis XIII. The Duke de Montbazon was a good-natured nobleman, benevolent in his condescensions, but renowned at court for his ludicrous and ignorant blunders and for his total want of discrimination. The Duke's *bévues* were so common that he was declared to be the hero of every laughable misadventure which diverted the court. M. de Montbazon was completely ruled by his high-spirited daughter, and as he revered few things not present to his visual comprehension, and finding that the *parvenu* de Luynes had attained to a rank and splendour hitherto denied to the blood of Rohan, he graciously consented to the alliance when proposed to him by his Sovereign. The handsome

person of the young favourite [5] had favourably impressed Mademoiselle de Montbazon: "To hate M. de Luynes," says a contemporary, "it was necessary not to have seen him, for he had so pleasant and affable an expression of countenance that many foes were thereby after an interview converted into friends." The fortunate favourite, moreover, was all-powerful to flatter and propitiate the foibles of the haughty Marie. The King promised to erect the estate of Maillé near to Tours, purchased by de Luynes, into a *duché pairie* if this marriage was accomplished. Most of the high offices filled by the Marquis d'Ancre were transferred to de Luynes. Louis, moreover, promised to nominate the Duchess de Luynes *surintendente de la maison de la Reine*, an office which conferred almost absolute power over the Queen's household, and to possess which, it is thought, greatly influenced the decision of Mademoiselle de Montbazon. De Luynes, in addition, bribed the good graces of his lady-love by magnificent gifts; and, as crowning tokens of his devotion, he obtained for her, previous to her marriage, the much-coveted *tabouret* or a folding-seat in the presence of the Queen—a privilege which no princess of the house of Rohan, either married or single, had before enjoyed; and lastly, he laid at the feet of his mistress the magnificent diamonds of the unfortunate Marquise d'Ancre—a casket of which a queen might have been proud. The marriage took place in the month of August, 1617, and the King created his favourite, according

to his promise, Duke de Luynes, and installed him as first minister of the crown. Louis also fulfilled his promise relative to the new Duchess de Luynes, who was appointed grandmistress of the palace and chief lady of her Majesty's household.[6] A feminine revolt followed this appointment. Anne absolutely refused to accept the services of a princess who, she said, was personally disagreeable to her. The Condesa de las Torres protested against the assumption by Madame de Luynes of power over the *camaréra mayor;* the good and virtuous Duchesse de Montmorency, first *dame du palais*, gave in her resignation, " as, being the widow of the late Constable de Montmorency, she could not retain a subordinate office in the royal household." The result of these squabbles was that the King never visited his consort for six weeks. The Spanish Ambassador, moved by the distress of the Queen, thereupon sought audience of the Duke de Luynes to be officially informed of the source of the *fracas*. Luynes replied that the King hated the Spanish ladies of his consort's household, especially Madame de las Torres and the old Duchess of Villequieras, her Majesty's former governess; but that this latter lady was so repugnant to the King that Louis had resolved never again to share her Majesty's apartment until after the departure of the said Duchess.[7] Monteléone faithfully reported the matter to Philip III., who, without further parley, recalled all the Spanish ladies, much to the distress and indignation of the Queen.

Anne, meantime, had been so excited by the vexatious events of the year that about the month of November she fell dangerously ill of low fever. The King showed much solicitude during the dangerous crisis of the malady and frequently visited her sick-chamber. On learning the danger of her young mistress, the Duchess de Montmorency returned to the Louvre and generously helped Madame de Luynes to discharge her functions at her Majesty's bedside, for etiquette required that a duchess should replace the *surintendente* during those intervals when leave of absence was requisite for repose and refreshment. Anne's recovery was tedious. The Ambassador Monteléone despatched weekly expresses to Madrid with news of her health. He prays Philip to send his daughter a quantity of oranges "similar to those your Majesty sent last year, which arrived as fresh as if just gathered from the tree." Monteléone proceeds to congratulate King Philip on the improved relations subsisting between the royal pair, and states that the King evidently greatly admired his consort, who was growing up a beautiful and graceful woman; also, that the King often proudly alluded to the incomparable complexion of his wife and remarked her abundant fair hair, "in which attractions she had not a rival in France."

Louis, about whom all these anxious speculations flowed, had now completed his eighteenth year; but the monarch who had just exiled his mother, who held the first prince of the blood

a captive in the Bastille, and who had raised an obscure favourite to the altitude of a duke and minister in chief, is described by Bassompierre as "amusing himself by little games and devices, such as painting little pictures, singing, making little models with quills of the fountains at St. Germain, and by drumming—for his Majesty was a skilful drummer."[8] "Bassompierre," said his Majesty one day, "I must now begin to practise on the horn; some day I will waken the echoes in my forests!" "Sire," replied the skilful courtier, "I do not advise such exercise. Charles IX., it is said, ruptured a blood-vessel by blowing the horn!" "You are mistaken," promptly replied his Majesty; "the King only quarrelled with his mother, Catherine de' Medici, and kept her at Monceaux. Now, if the King had followed the good advice of M. de Retz, and had not returned to her, he would not have died at the early age which he did!" "From that period," remarks Bassompierre,[9] "I took heed never to mention the Queen-mother in the presence of the King, finding that his fears had been excited respecting her."

Marie de' Medici during this interval, wearied of the insults daily inflicted, fled from Blois, with the aid of her old friend Epernon, and had retired under his escort to Loches, where she threatened the realm with civil war. On the 21st of February, 1619, the Queen escaped from the castle by a window 120 feet from the ground, by means of a rope-ladder sent to her by Epernon.[10] Her two women followed and her *chevalier*

d'honneur, the Count de Brennes. A coach was in waiting, in which her Majesty entered and took the road towards Montrichard. She was met outside the town of Blois by the Cardinal de la Valette, then Archbishop of Toulouse, with 300 gentlemen, who accompanied her to the fortress of Loches, where Marie was rapturously welcomed by Epernon and afterwards received an oath of fidelity from the soldiers of the garrison. The utmost panic seized the King and his ministers when they heard of this event. Louis returned to Paris from St. Germain to hold council, at which it was determined to send le P. Berulle to negotiate, whose brain was thought to be a match for that of the subtle Richelieu, whom her Majesty, on arriving at Loches, had summoned. Bentivoglio, who then filled the post of Nuncio at the court of France, caused this suggestion to be conveyed to the privy council. Although most of the great peers of France had returned to their duty on the downfall of Concini, yet the elements of revolt were not extinct in France. Moreover, the courts of Parliament throughout the realm had interceded for the Queen-mother, *la veuve de Henri IV.*, and had exhorted the King to be reconciled with her. At court she had many ardent partisans, such as Bassompierre, Guise, Bellegarde and others. It was, therefore, now deemed by Luynes to be a politic and popular course to disarm her Majesty by negotiation, and to propose an interview of reconciliation with the King. The Cardinal de la Rochefoucault was

despatched to offer to the Queen the government of Anjou, with the fortresses of Angers, Pont de Cé, and Chinon, provided that she consented to relinquish the government of Normandy. The Prince of Piedmont, whose recent marriage with the Princess Christine without the consent or participation of the Queen-mother had filled the measure of Marie's grievances,[11] now made reparation by visiting her Majesty at Angoulême. The Duke de Montbazon also made the same pilgrimage on behalf of his son-in-law de Luynes, to express the earnest desire of the latter for reconciliation. Marie, by the counsel of Richelieu, accepted the proposals and overtures of her son, and promised to join the court at Tours.[12] The young Queen, therefore, journeyed from Paris to Tours, where she made a sojourn of three months. After the meeting and reconciliation between Louis and his mother, the King set out for the south of France, attended by his favourite, to restore the Catholic faith throughout Béarn, while Anne returned to Paris, having received a promise from Queen Marie to join her there after she had visited her new government of Anjou and the fortresses ceded in that province.

During the next two years the history of the young Queen presents few incidents worthy of record. Her great grief, and the chief topic of the Spanish Ambassador, the Marquis de Mirabel, who had succeeded Monteléone in the Paris embassage, was the devotion manifested by the King for the young and brilliant Duchess de Luynes, who

first moved the heart of Louis Treize, and taught his Majesty some of the tender refinements of *la belle passion*. "The King," writes the Ambassador, "abounds in courtesies and attentions for the Duchess de Luynes: I have, nevertheless, good hope that the worst suspicions take rise only in the excited fancy of the Infanta-queen and in the malicious tattlings of her women. The King, I believe, is too wise and virtuous to merit the imputation of criminal intrigue. Your Majesty should exhort the Queen to propitiate her husband, and to render herself agreeable and necessary to him by the thousand little coquetteries proper to enchain and entice volatile hearts." Anne was too haughty and resentful to profit by such counsel; she adopted with the Duchess de Luynes a distant and condescending demeanour, but towards the King her manner was grave, serious, and respectful. Louis, at this period, showed great consideration for his consort in public; nor was it until he fell again under the baneful influence of the Queen-mother that those miserable domestic *tracasseries* commenced which poisoned his existence. The Nuncio Bentivoglio mentions even that, during the absence of the King from Paris in 1620—to subdue the menaced insurrection excited by the distrust of Marie de' Medici in the provinces recently confided to her—the young Queen, "to the joy of everybody," daily presided at the council of state. These days were the brightest and most prosperous of Anne's married life.

A shadow at this period was, nevertheless, cast

over the content of the Queen by the anger which Louis displayed at the assiduities manifested towards her by the Dukes de Montmorency and de Bellegarde. M. de Luynes was even one day compelled to leave the circle, at the peremptory command of his royal master, for having presumed to press to his lips a flower which had fallen from a bouquet worn by her Majesty. This boyish petulance, and his own neglect of her in private, angered the Queen, who now having attained to woman's estate, and being conscious of her charms, resented the querulous tyranny to which she was often subjected. The Duchess de Luynes meantime lived in the greatest harmony with her *parvenu* lord, spite of the prevalent rumours respecting her intimacy with her liege.[13] She espoused the interests of the Duke with that energy for which she was renowned; the palace under her sway was a model of order and discipline, nevertheless, she never at this period succeeded in gaining even the coldest approval from her royal mistress. Anne had a pungent tongue and her memory was seldom at fault; the Queen, therefore, in her circle, often in the most *naïve* manner alluded to reminiscences which the superb minister would fain have forgotten. His four years of rule, however, had weakened his influence with the King, who could not endure the brightness of the light which he himself had kindled. The lips of Louis often turned white with passion as he beheld the homage exacted by de Luynes, "Le Roy Luynes," as he bitterly murmured.[14] Neverthe-

less, with strange inconsistency, in the year 1621, Louis conferred the sword of Constable of France on de Luynes, with the greatest pomp. The sword of the new Constable presented by his Majesty was valued at 30,000 crowns. The court was afterwards sumptuously entertained by the Constable at his Hôtel, the former abode of the Marquis d'Ancre, which was at this time known by the familiar *sobriquet* of Hôtel des Trois Rois, as at the commencement of de Luynes' career his brothers lived with him. For each of these personages, Louis, with the most amazing recklessness, had created a *duché pairie*. Cadenet espoused the heiress of Pèquigny, and was made Duke de Chaulnes; Brantés made a still more illustrious alliance, and married the heiress of Luxembourg, Charlotte Marguerite, only daughter of the Duke de Piney Luxembourg, whose title he eventually bore.

The new Constable meantime followed his royal master to the siege of Montauban, one of the strongholds of the Huguenots, a place defended by the Marquis de la Force with incredible valour. The siege lasted three months, and terminated by the retreat of the royal army. The displeasure and distaste of the King for de Luynes increased during the progress of the siege operations; his arrogant independence sometimes excited his Majesty to frenzy. Bassompierre was made the confidant of Louis's dissatisfaction, very much to the dismay of that astute personage. "I will compel him, the base-born ingrate, to restore all that he has rifled; he desires to make himself

King, but I shall counteract his plots! The poor adventurer!" sneered the petulant boy-King, "why, his relations once arrived by boat-loads, and not one of them had a silk robe to appear in my presence!" The disgust indulged by Louis at length attained such fervour, that he one day told the Constable in public that the Duke de Chevreuse was madly enamoured of Madame de Luynes; and therefore that he warned him to be on the watch. "But, sire," remonstrated the good-natured Bassompierre, "I have heard that it ranks as heinous sin to sow dissension between husband and wife." "May God please to grant me pardon," responded his Majesty, "but I have now such joy in spiting M. le Connétable and in giving him annoyance!" Such being the sentiments of the King, expressed in semi-confidence to the most privileged amongst his courtiers, predictions abounded on the approaching overthrow of the Constable. The royal aversion was not lessened by the comments of Queen Marie; who now, having made peace with her son, had taken up her abode at the Luxembourg. On the raising of the siege of Montauban, fever raged in the camp; Luynes retired to Longuetille, and there encamped, feeling indisposed. In the course of a few hours the dreaded pestilence seized him; his comfortless quarters and his perturbation of mind increased the severity of the attack, and death soon delivered the King from the man he now so utterly loathed. De Luynes died on the 21st of December, 1621, after an illness of a few hours'

duration. His favour lasted five years. Few crimes mar his career: Luynes was weak and ostentatious; his greatest merit, perhaps, was that he had discerned the extraordinary genius of the Bishop of Luçon, and at the time of his death was negotiating with Richelieu to quit the service of Marie de' Medici for his own, offering, as a bribe, a seat in the privy council. Luynes left a son and one daughter [15] by his consort. The King suffered the young Duke to inherit his father's enormous wealth, under the guardianship of his mother. During the following year, 1622, Madame de Luynes married Claude de Lorraine, Duke de Chevreuse, son of Henri, Duke de Guise, killed at the States of Blois. The alliance was an illustrious one. M. de Chevreuse, however, was weak and incapable, and totally unable to guide or rule his witty and able wife. He was luxurious and indolent, and while enjoying the ease of the Hôtel Chevreuse, cared little for the intrigues of his consort or for the success of her political enterprises.

Before her second marriage, the Duchess de Luynes incurred a temporary disgrace. The Queen, to the great joy of the nation, had been declared *enceinte*. Prayers were offered throughout the realms of France and Spain for a safe and prosperous term, and Anne was committed to the care of the Queen-mother, and ordered by her royal husband not to act in defiance of such authority. It happened that the Princess de Conde [16] suffered from temporary indisposition, and was compelled to keep her bed in her apart-

ments at the Louvre. Anne and a gay party of courtiers, including her widowed *surintendente* and Mademoiselle de Verneuil, went to visit the invalid. The evening was spent merrily, being enlivened by the wit and the amusing adventures of the Marshal de Bassompierre and the Duke de Bellegarde. At ten o'clock the Queen took leave of Madame de Condé. To arrive at her apartment, it was necessary to traverse the great gallery of the Louvre, at the end of which a magnificent canopy and throne stood, which on this evening was partly draped for a state reception on the morrow. On entering this apartment Madame de Luynes and Mademoiselle de Verneuil took the Queen each by an arm, and proposed, in the exuberance of their mirth, that her Majesty should run with them a race down its length. Anne suffered herself to be persuaded by their importunity; unfortunately, her ladies suddenly releasing their hold as they approached the throne, the Queen fell on her face over a footstool. A few hours subsequently, a catastrophe occurred which dismayed the courtiers, and moved the king to one of those bursts of passion to which he was subject. With his own hand Louis wrote to the Duchess de Luynes, and to Mademoiselle de Verneuil, exiling them from the Louvre, and forbidding them to see the Queen to say farewell. The letters were delivered to the delinquents by the Queen-mother, who administered to each an angry reprimand, and dismissed the ladies, weeping bitterly.[17] The Duchess de Montmorency[18] was thereupon promoted to the

office of *surintendente*, which she retained for many years, conciliating every one by her gentle and winning deportment.

The return of the Queen-mother to Paris had been attended with many annoyances to the Queen, her daughter-in-law. After the death of the Constable de Luynes, Marie again beheld herself supreme over the court, ruling almost as imperiously as before the overthrow of the Marquis d'Ancre and her subsequent exile. Distrustful of his own powers and judgment, Louis again sought refuge in his mother's more enterprising and resolute character, while Marie relied on the hidden support and sage counsels of her chancellor, Richelieu, Bishop of Luçon. The power and disaffection of the great nobles still menaced the royal authority. Condé had been released from the Bastille by de Luynes, to counterbalance, as he hoped, the renewed influence of the Queen-mother, after her reconciliation with her son at Tours. The prince was esteemed to be one of the wisest and most prudent of men; his military talents were not great, but his name, his alliances, and his relationship with many of the great Huguenot nobles, added to the guileful cunning of his character, had gained him reputation. For the first six months after the death of de Luynes, Condé filled the vacant place of royal mentor, and during this interval Marie lived in intimate union with Queen Anne, their majesties usually appearing in public together, and amiably patronising the Princess de Condé. The young Duke

of Orleans at this period became a daily visitor at the *lever* of the Queen his sister-in-law. Gaston was a beautiful, forward boy of fourteen, idolised by his mother for his sprightly wit and for his apparent devotion to herself. The brothers, in character, were entirely opposite. Louis XIII. resembled his father, Henri IV., in his contempt of soft luxury, and in his readiness to submit to temporary privation. Monsieur, on the contrary, was fastidious, luxury-loving, and pleasure-seeking. His raiment was perfumed, and made of the most costly fabrics, rings glittered on his white fingers, and his fair long hair was adjusted to perfection. The dancing of the young prince was pronounced to be exquisite, his voice was melodious, he excelled in the composition of charades and *jeux d'esprit*, and he aimed at a lisping precision of speech, which ere long became a fashion at court. Beneath this effeminate exterior, nevertheless, the heroic spirit of his ancestors of Albret slumbered. Monsieur showed an early predilection for arms, his fencing was admirable, he was an expert archer, and rode on horseback with an ease and grace which always excited the envy of the King.[19] Monsieur's inclination for magnificence and costly ornamentation pervaded all his pursuits. While his brother contented himself with snaring magpies and small birds, Gaston, at this period, having just attained his majority and therefore becoming master of his patrimony, set up a hunting establishment on a grand scale at his château of Montargis, where he built kennels and

stables, which a few years subsequently were razed to the ground, when the Duke capriciously transferred his stud to Villers Coterets, a hunting-lodge in the forest of Soissons. The Duke at this period divided his leisure, when in Paris, between the Louvre and the Luxembourg ; spending hours at the latter place with his royal mother in the studio of the *maestro*, Rubens, whom Marie de' Medici had lured from Antwerp to embellish her palace by his immortal pencil. When at the Louvre, Gaston entertained his fair sister-in-law and her ladies, and once more made the saloons echo, as in olden times, with merry laughter and witty repartee. Soon the greatest solace of the fair young Queen was the society of so fascinating a cavalier as her brother-in-law, who, moreover, with lazy good nature, adjusted many a little dispute arising between Anne and the Queen-mother which might have acquired unsought-for importance if submitted to the arbitration of Louis Treize. Prominent amongst the grievances between Anne and her imperious mother-in-law, was the fact that Marie proposed that the state receptions of the Louvre should be transferred to her saloons ; and, through Richelieu, she even succeeded in convincing her royal son that such arrangement would obviate many evils to be anticipated from the youth and inexperience of his consort. Anne replied, that such tutelage was unbecoming her proud position as reigning Queen of France and Infanta of the Spains. Her Majesty, therefore, firmly declined to be present at the

Luxembourg whenever the court paid its homage to the "august Marie de' Medici." This resolution was supported by the counsel of the Duchess de Chevreuse,[20] who, after her marriage, had again appeared at court as chief lady of honour in waiting, and wiser perchance for her brief eclipse. Marie also complained that Anne, when addressing her by letter, terminated with the words "*votre affectionée fille*," instead of by the formula, in imitation of that adopted by the King, of "*votre très humble et obéissante fille*." The Queen bore with meekness the coldness of the Queen-mother and the anger of the King, who was again enslaved by his mother, for at this period Richelieu still acted in subordination to the directions of Marie de' Medici. Marie and her chancellor continually depreciated the intellect and *savoir vivre* of Queen Anne, so apprehensive were they of a rival in Louis' confidence. "Nevertheless," says an enthusiastic contemporary, "Anne is truly pious; her heart is noble, her constancy great, her self-control eminent; she unhappily remembers injuries, but she is easily persuaded by commendation and by affectionate appeal." The intercourse between Anne and Monsieur was not over-pleasing to Louis XIII.: that sombre nature ever construed friendship for another into depreciation of himself. Anne, unhappily for her future peace, had adopted the maxims of the famous Marquise de Sablé—at this period in the meridian of her celebrity, but who, nevertheless, was one of the most selfish and heartless of the

"brilliant women," the glory of the Parisian saloons of the 17th and 18th centuries. "I am persuaded," said Madame de Sablé, "that men without criminality may feel and demonstrate the tenderest sentiments for the lady of their heart and fancy. I maintain that the desire of pleasing women inspires the grandest and noblest actions, and that it imparts wit, liberality and countless virtues. Women, being the gems and ornaments of the world, are created to become the recipients of such homage; they may therefore accept, and ought to encourage, adoration and service, which, however, they need repay only by innocent condescensions." Such a code was repugnant to the jealous temper of the King; isolated, and living at the Louvre, as her sister-in-law the Queen of Spain, lived in the seclusion of El Escorial, Anne might have ruled Louis XIII. and France, but the frolics of the court, and the *étourderies* of the Queen offended the King's susceptibilities, which became further aggrieved by the ironical expostulations with which Anne met his remonstrances. "The admiration shown for me by MM. les Ducs de Montmorency and de Bellegarde, is only a just tribute to the attractions of their Queen!" [21] exclaimed Anne, proudly. Louis also tartly reprimanded his consort for permitting the assiduities of Monsieur, inasmuch as her coquetting and ridicule, he said, rendered the Duke more averse than ever to offer suitable *devoirs* to his betrothed wife, Marie de Bourbon Montpensier, an alliance approved and desired by the Queen-

mother and by himself. Mademoiselle de Montpensier being the richest heiress in France, it had been deemed imperative by Henri IV. that the succession to so many duchies should neither lapse to a subject, nor be possessed by a foreign prince. Henriette, Duchess de Joyeuse in her own right, and dowager of Montpensier, had taken for her second husband the Duke de Guise; her daughter, therefore, was receiving her education with her half-brothers and sisters of Lorraine. The little heiress was plain, pale and insipid, *triste* in humour, small, slightly deformed in person, totally unable to comprehend, and even feeling frightened at the brilliant sallies of her affianced lord. The Queen disparaged her future sister-in-law, and did all she could to render Monsieur indifferent; "because" argued her Majesty, "if the future Madame brings her husband children, I shall fall in public esteem and suffer deeper political insignificance." Nevertheless, on the hint of her royal consort, whose wrath subdued even Anne's assurance, her Majesty attempted to persuade the young Duke to seek the society of his affianced.

The Queen-mother and her policy, meantime, continued to be in the ascendant. The death of the Cardinal de Retz and of the Keeper of the seals Du Vic, creatures of the late Constable de Luynes, enabled Marie to extend her patronage. The sword of Constable was given to Lesdiguières on his abjuration of the Calvinist faith, and the Marquis de Vieuville, an old adherent of the

Queen's, received the seals. The Chancellor de Sillery was banished from the court; and, at the urgent demand of the Queen-mother, Richelieu was admitted a member of the privy council. Marie had demanded a Cardinal's hat for her *protégé* after the signature of the peace of Angers. De Luynes promised the interest of the French government with the Holy See, but as the King manifested displeasure at the elevation of Richelieu, whom he was wont to designate "an officious meddler," a private letter was addressed to his Holiness to neutralise the effect of the public demand. Richelieu discovered the intrigue through the celebrated Capuchin, Father Joseph de Tremblay,[22] and meekly informed his patroness. Upon this Marie promptly proposed a marriage between M. Combalet, nephew of de Luynes, with Mademoiselle de Pont de Courlay,[23] the niece of Richelieu, and thus won the true support of de Luynes. All persons, therefore, being as the Queen hoped, propitiated, a second application had been made to his Holiness. During the interval the Constable de Luynes died. Louis, therefore, advised by Condé of this fresh application, again dispatched a message through Corsini, the Papal Nuncio, to the effect "that he should not feel aggrieved if his Holiness deemed it advisable, and found excuses, to refuse this request." Again the royal duplicity was discovered by Richelieu and confided to the Queen-mother. Marie entered her son's cabinet in a passion of resentment; she drew the most disastrous picture of the condition of France, and

her eulogy of "the humble prelate whose wisdom and learning were to avert ruin from the realm" bewildered the King. Louis confessed his want of appreciation of Richelieu's merit, but consented to dispatch an express to Rome to contradict "the error of the Nuncio," who had misunderstood the royal observation, and to ask for the prompt elevation of M. de Luçon. The much-coveted hat was bestowed upon Richelieu by Pope Gregory XV., September 1622. The astute Richelieu had no sooner received the insignia of his cardinalate from the hand of his sovereign, at Lyons, than he prostrated himself at the feet of Marie de' Medici: "Gracious Majesty! this purple, which I owe to your Majesty, will be ever before my eyes as a symbol of the solemn vow which I have made, and now renew, to shed every drop of my blood, if necessary, in your service!" The joy of Marie was intense: the mother of the King—mother and trusted ally of Monsieur heir-presumptive—the mistress of Richelieu and able to command at will that glorious intellect and unrivalled daring—Marie might well consider her newly-recovered power steadfast and immovable!

The rule of the Cardinal de Richelieu commenced. His first process of government was to exhibit to the timid and suspicious Louis the volcano beneath his throne, and to direct his startled gaze on the swarm of malcontents which stung and ravaged his fair heritage and prerogatives. Richelieu displayed terrible pictures:

the revolt and arrogance of the great peers, whose ambition shook the throne; the treason of the Huguenots of the realm—their tenure of fortified places by treaty, their alliances with foreign powers and their insolent demand for separate political and synodical action. He then changed the scene to the domestic disquietudes of the court—the towering ambition of Marie de' Medici, the Cardinal observed, no *faithful* minister of Louis XIII. might ignore; the levity and Spanish inclinations of the reigning Queen; the ambition and frivolity of the heir-presumptive, whose vanity might betray him into the toils of unprincipled men! Every one of these bristling thorns pierced the heart of the King. The Cardinal's system with Marie de' Medici was, to bemoan the suspicions and illiberality of the King his royal master, his headstrong will and lack of filial deference, the cunning of Condé, the insecurity of her Majesty's position, and the high promise of Monsieur. For a season this course of tactics succeeded with Marie de' Medici; but the Queen required the Cardinal's deeds to accord with his words, and his actions to follow, or at any rate to assimilate with his predictions—a consequence overlooked, in his astuteness, by Richelieu. The court was divided by the new law-giver into two camps—his friends and his enemies. For the former no caresses and privileges were deemed too high a boon; for the latter, mendacity could not sufficiently blacken their motives and character, or persecution and ruin too thoroughly overthrow

their prospects. The meek humility of Richelieu's manner towards his household dependants; the deferential homage which, at the commencing of his power, he paid to the high personages of the court; and the triple velvet with which he encased the potent hand so terrible in its blows, enabled the first years of his ministry—his initiation in office—to glide away with but little notice, and no opposition.

The method which Richelieu is recorded to have taken in order to propitiate and to gain the favour of Anne of Austria is so extraordinary, and opposed to his intercourse with his royal patron during the following decade of years, that it is difficult to believe a fact, which is related and affirmed by trustworthy historians and chroniclers of the period. It is asserted that Richelieu attempted to strengthen his position by commencing an intrigue with the wife of his sovereign. There is no doubt that the isolated position of the young and fascinating Queen, estranged from her royal husband partly through his strange caprices and exactions, and badly counselled by her friend and *confidente* Madame de Chevreuse, offered a tempting lure to the vicious and unscrupulous. Richelieu hated Monsieur the heir-presumptive with bitter hatred—at first, for some rude words of sarcasm, the more galling as falling from boyish lips, and because he descried in the disposition of the Duke a fretfulness which convinced him that so restless and volatile a spirit never would retain its subjection to the will of any minister. Riche-

lieu's admiration was calmly accepted, it is said, by Anne, as a homage rendered to her charms, and as incense offered by the first minister to the political personage which she never ceased from aspiring to become. "The Queen," says Anne's ardent friend and apologist, Madame de Motteville, "confessed to me that in her youth she never could comprehend that what is called *l'honnête galanterie* could be blamable, any more than the liberty enjoyed by Spanish ladies of the court of Madrid, who, living like nuns in the palace and never speaking of men but in the presence of the King or Queen of Spain, yet boast of their conquests, and discourse upon them as facts calculated rather to enhance their reputation than to defame it." Anne related to Madame de Motteville, in days when the memory of the sore trials of her youth had almost faded from the mind of the mother of Louis XIV., that one day Richelieu was craving her friendship and assistance with an air too gallant and animated, and with words of passionate admiration, and that she, who detested him, was preparing to answer in contemptuous anger, when the door opened and the King appeared. Anne added, that she never after reverted to the subject, fearing to do the Cardinal too much honour by appearing to remember his presumption; "but I did myself infinite injury with the King my consort, for the bad offices of M. le Cardinal increased our misunderstandings."[24] Richelieu, it might be imagined, would have been the last man to involve himself

in the meshes of a perilous intrigue: but it is asserted that the Cardinal, at this period, was consumed with a frantic admiration for his young mistress; and that Anne, whose heart remained untouched, amused herself by ridiculing and spurning this foible. But for certain suspicious incidents which occurred between the pair, years after this event, and when the Cardinal's passion was supposed to be extinct, the episode would seem too improbable to challenge belief. The evil influences of Madame de Chevreuse were fast dissipating the decorous reserve of Anne's manners and vitiating her mind. Anne had learned to love her and to trust her, as the forlorn cling to the one bright and genial object which cheers their existence. Marie de Rohan was now devoted to the Queen. Anne's enemies were her foes, and the beautiful, strong-minded woman would have given her life, as she eventually sacrificed fortune, for the sake of her royal mistress. Intrigue, unhappily, occupied the mind of the Duchess, and, incorrigible in her vanity, Marie succeeded too well in diverting the melancholy of the Queen by the recital of her forbidden diversions. When condoled with by her intimates on the indolence and pompous emptiness of the Duke her husband, Madame de Chevreuse replied promptly, "*Je m'en endommage!*" Subsequent to this period Madame de Chevreuse engaged in a correspondence with the handsome Earl of Holland, then Lord Rich, who had visited France in 1622 to negotiate for the Rochellois, and who

returned in 1624 as one of the ambassadors sent to confer on the marriage of Henriette Marie de France with Charles, Prince of Wales. In their correspondence these persons naturally wrote much concerning the leading personages of their respective courts; and Anne of Austria and George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the favourite of James I. of England, often afforded a theme for the writers. The magnificence of Villiers, his beauty of person and chivalrous character, is believed, even at this period, to have made a deep impression on the fancy of the Queen. Buckingham, also, she was told, was joined to a partner uncongenial and incapable of appreciating his rare powers. Anne believed this hero-worship to be blameless—the great ocean separated her from Buckingham—besides, it invested the correspondence of Madame de Chevreuse with a personal interest. The Queen, therefore, imagined that she might fearlessly accept the messages of her admirer, and reciprocate *la belle galanterie*, without dread of the spies and the reprimands of the Louvre.

While Anne was thus indulging in soft blandishments, she, with her imprudent *confidente*, ventured upon all kinds of malicious *minauderies* towards the Cardinal. They dared to jest with and ridicule his professions, and to devise *des puits d'amour*, into which they devoutly hoped he might fall. One day the flippant Duchess told his Eminence that her Majesty would be charmed, she thought, to see a churchman arrayed in cloth of

silver—*gris de lin!* Still further, these thoughtless women are said to have indulged their mirth. The Count de Brienne is the relater of the anecdote, which he thus retails :[25] "The Queen and her *confidente* were at this time mad with fun and frolic. One day, when they were conversing together, and could talk and laugh at nothing save at the expense of the amorous Cardinal, Madame de Chevreuse said, 'He is, I assure you, passionately smitten, and I know of nothing which he would not do to please your Majesty. Shall I send him here some evening, dressed *en baladin*, to dance a saraband? Shall I? Would your Majesty like it?' 'What folly!' replied the Queen; nevertheless, Anne was young, she was a woman, she was full of spirit and fun and the idea diverted her. The great minister, although he had in hand all the politics of Europe, could not defend his heart from the assaults of love. He accepted the singular *rendezvous* proposed by the Duchess—for already he believed himself secure of conquest. Boccan, who played admirably on the violin, was summoned. Secrecy was impressed upon him, but when are such secrets kept? Richelieu appeared clad in pantaloons of green velvet, at his garters hung silver bells, on his hands were castanets, and he danced the saraband, which Boccan played. The Queen and her favourite, attended by Vautier and by Beringhen, remained concealed behind a screen through which the gestures and movements of the dancer were seen!"

The Cardinal speedily detected the *escapades*

of which he had become the victim, and resented the insult; at any rate, his project of captivating the mind of the giddy young Queen had failed. "She rejected," he complained, "his friendship, his paternal care; and in the haughtiness of her Austrian blood despised his counsels." If Richelieu failed, as recorded by de Brienne and other chroniclers, to obtain power over the mind of Anne of Austria, it is certain that the minister discerned a waywardness in her character, which convinced him of the necessity of compassing her subjugation by rougher and more arbitrary measures. Fate did not long withhold from the unscrupulous minister the power which he coveted.

The treaty with England, by which a daughter of Henri IV. was given to Charles I., was finally signed in Paris, March 13, 1625, after the death of James I., who had previously subscribed the marriage contract of his heir with Henriette Marie. The Earls of Carlisle and Holland were the ambassadors sent by Charles to sign, on his behalf, the articles and the private arrangements agreed to between the courts and to be present at the marriage ceremony, which took place, May 11th, 1625, on a platform of state raised before the portal of Notre Dame. Madame de Chevreuse had been the great promoter of the alliance, being won over to English interests by Lord Holland, "who had," says Bishop Hacket, "an amorous temper and a wise head, and could court it as smoothly as any man with the French

ladies." Marie de' Medici also sanctioned her daughter's marriage with a heretic prince, and entered into the views of Richelieu, who desired, with politic foresight, to wrest from the Huguenots of the realm their great ally, by uniting the crowns in matrimonial alliance. The young Queen at first declared herself inimical to the alliance, on account of her sister the Infanta Marguerite, whom she held to have been betrayed and deserted by King Charles. Persuaded by Madame de Chevreuse, Anne, swayed by a multitude of motives, at length cordially congratulated her sister-in-law, whose society, nevertheless, she seems to have seldom sought, and declared herself " so truly French as to prefer the alliance of Charles with Henriette rather than that with her own sister Madame l'Infante,[26] for whom she had other views ! " King James, before his decease, had issued a command to the Duke of Buckingham " to get the English fleet in order, to bring over our dearly beloved daughter, the Princess Henrietta " : a mandate confirmed by the new sovereign, who was even more infatuated than his father with the superb favourite. Great was the sensation at the French court when it was announced that the Duke, the dispenser of the revenues of three potent realms, was about to shine in Paris. Many a heart throbbed in expectation of the visit, and amongst those whose anticipations were perhaps the keenest, was the fair Queen of France and her companion Madame de Chevreuse.

At this period Anne possessed as little influence in the state as her friend—perhaps, indeed, a less degree of power—because Madame de Chevreuse lavished wit, beauty and wealth to win adherents, and was fettered by no scruples.

The King seldom saw his consort in private. He was often absent from Paris on short military campaigns, and when resident at the Louvre Anne was too petulant and resentful to submit to his *brusquerie*, or too impatient to devote herself to the task of soothing his melancholy, or of sharing the dreary conversation and still more dreary musical entertainment of two guitars and a violin, which often whiled away the evenings in his Majesty's apartments. Louis had nothing to say to a young and beautiful woman ; he loved to sit in silent abstraction and disliked the presence of ladies. His praises of Richelieu incensed the Queen, as did also his habitual abuse of Spain and the dynasty of Hapsburg, whose overthrow, he was wont to declare, it was the high mission of France to accomplish. This indifference between the royal couple enabled Richelieu to insert the wedge of a still more entire disunion ; the minister and the Queen-mother inspired the mind of Louis with distrust of his wife, and Anne did nothing to kindle love or to command respect.

The Duke de Chevreuse had been appointed as the proxy of King Charles to wed Henrietta ; he was also, with the Duchess his wife, chosen to conduct Queen Henrietta to Dover, to meet her newly espoused lord. The Duke's wealth and splendid

jewels was the public reason assigned for the distinction conferred upon him; for Madame de Chevreuse possessed, by the bequest of her first husband, the diamonds of the unfortunate Marquise d'Ancre. One evening Lord Holland visited the Duke de Chevreuse unexpectedly and found him, with his consort, dressed for a masque at the Louvre; "but never did I before behold such jewels, and never again expect to see such profusion adorning the persons of subjects!" [27] The duchess coveted the ambassage to the court of England, not so much to display her diamonds, as the lustre of her eyes before the admiring gaze of Lord Holland, a fact which she scrupled not to confess. The marriage ceremony of the Princess Maria Henrietta remained a memorable pageant to Queen Anne of Austria; as on this occasion only, during the reign of her consort, did she publicly enjoy the magnificence and *appareil* of her position as Queen-consort. At this ceremony, nevertheless, she was compelled to yield precedence to Marie de' Medici.[28] The charming bride, Princess Henrietta, won, by her grace and amiability, the praise of the English ambassadors. "My lord," wrote Lord Holland to the Duke of Buckingham, "I protest that she is a lovely and sweet young creature. Her growth is not great, but they all swear that her sister, the Princess of Piedmont (Madame Christine), was not taller than she is at her age." [29] In most of his despatches Holland mentions Anne of Austria, so that the imagination of Buckingham, by the time he

arrived in France, fired by dwelling on the beauty, the wrongs and the isolation of the Queen, was ready to assign evil significance to every kindly overture tendered by her Majesty. Rumours of the superb retinue appointed to attend the Duke of Buckingham excited curiosity and interest in Paris. It was ironically said "that King Louis must vacate his Louvre to afford space for the Duke and his suite!" On the 24th of May, Buckingham entered Paris; his suite consisted of seven hundred persons! He was accompanied by the Marquis of Hamilton, by his brother-in-law the Earl of Denbigh, and by six gentlemen, sons of noble families. His equipages consisted of three coaches lavishly gilt and adorned, drawn each by eight horses. Buckingham was also attended by a band of musicians; and by his staff of Thames watermen—twenty-two in number—clad in rich liveries. For his personal attire Buckingham made elaborate preparation, "for, my lord, they are here so fine, so curious, and so magnificent, that your Excellency will be much pleased," had been the report of Gerbier, steward of the Duke's household, sent by his master to purchase paintings and goldsmiths' work in France. "For his body, my lord had twenty-seven suits embroidered and laced with silk and silver plushes, besides one satten uncut velvet suit, set all over, both suit and cloak, with diamonds, the value whereof is thought to be about 10,000 pounds. He has, moreover, a feather made with great diamonds, a sword-girdle, hat-band,

and spurs, all studded with diamonds, and another rich suit of purple satten embroidered with fine pearls." [30] The noble and handsome face of Buckingham beamed with delight, when, after making his obeisance to the King and the Queen-mother in the great hall of the Louvre, he inclined before the fair young sovereign, whose attractions had so stimulated his vanity and presumption. The jealous and carping spirit of the French cavaliers found no rallying point as they beheld the personal gifts of Villiers and the kingly carriage "of the handsomest-bodied man of England." The polish of his address, which Clarendon lauds as "sweet and accostable," and his generosity and magnificence were noted with admiration. Nevertheless, the pomp affected by the Duke kindled the ire of his entertainers; [31] and his gifts, which were at first accepted with gratitude, offended by their prodigality.

The impression made on the Duke by the charms of Anne of Austria increased his infatuation, while Anne herself imprudently gave him every opportunity of access to her presence. Madame de Chevreuse continued to be the arch-temptress, and persuaded her royal mistress, at the suggestion, it is said, of Lord Holland, that to flatter and encourage the passion of the Duke would tend to the glory of France; inasmuch as the Queen, reigning over the heart of Buckingham, would govern the counsels of King Charles. Nevertheless, the Queen admitted the reality of Buckingham's attentions with reluctance. Madame de Motteville asserts

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George Villiers Duke of Buckingham
after Rubens

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that no treason to her husband and King entered the imagination of Anne of Austria. The Duke was handsome and the pearl of European chivalry, and by the extraordinary familiarity in which he lived with King Charles was admitted by other monarchs to intimate freedoms. Proud, therefore, of her conquest—and glad, perhaps, to exhibit before her husband's eyes the homage which her charms excited in the bosom of the most fastidious of cavaliers—Anne acted on the evil counsel of Madame de Chevreuse, forgetting her queenly rank. "The Duke of Buckingham," relates Madame de Motteville,[32] whose mother, at this period, held the office of bed-chamber woman to Anne of Austria, "had the audacity to attack her Majesty's heart. He was tall, well-made, handsome, noble, spirited, magnificent, liberal and the favourite of a great king. He had the spending of all his master's treasure, with the loan of all the crown jewels of England to adorn his person. Is it marvellous, therefore, that, possessed of so many amiable qualities, his aim was high? or that he indulged in noble, but dangerous and blamable, desires? If the happiness was his of persuading those around that his homage was not importunate, we must presume that his aspirations were received, as the Divinities of old were said to accept the offering of mortals—that is to say, that their devotees remained in ignorance whether their homage was acceptable or the reverse. The Queen made no secret of these events, but has without reserve confessed to me that in her youth (though

the illusion is now dissipated) she did not comprehend that what is termed *l'honnête galanterie* could be wrong, when no pledges were given or accepted." The experiment was a dangerous one, as Anne was not long in discovering; for the penetrating eye of Richelieu comprehended the insolence of the aspirations cherished by Buckingham. He beheld with mingled satisfaction, and perhaps jealousy, the condescensions of the Queen; for he perceived that no artifice could more certainly serve him to neutralise Anne's enmity, and to annul her influence, than to arouse the jealous ire of Louis XIII. as to his consort's inclination for the Duke personally, and her relations with him as the ambassador of the English king. Moreover, a scene of levity in the gardens of the Louvre, most disgraceful in Anne's position as Queen of France, came to the ears of the minister; and which, years afterwards, was related in detail by Madame de Chevreuse to the famous coadjutor, Cardinal de Retz, and is recorded by him, doubtless with much profligate exaggeration, in the original edition of his Memoirs.

The homage and adulations of all the ladies of the capital seem well-nigh to have turned the ill-poised mind of the Duke of Buckingham. The beautiful Madame de Chevreuse divided her condescensions between himself and her old lover Lord Holland; the Duchess de Guise regaled him by sumptuous banquets and masques; the Queen-mother did the honours of her Luxembourg to so privileged a guest; Madame de Sablé held recep-

tions in his honour, in which the wit and learning of the capital were arrayed for his delectation; and the brothers de Luynes, Dukes de Chaulnes and de Luxembourg, placed their establishments at his disposal. Condé held festivals at Chantilly in his honour; the new constable Duke de Lesdiguières, and his plebeian but hearty consort Marie Mignot, welcomed the splendid ambassador and his suite. Anne of Austria was gracious; his Majesty King Louis smiled grimly on the genial representative of his brother-in-law; and Queen Henriette Marie left nothing to be desired in her anxiety to propitiate the favourite who ruled the court of England. No wonder that Buckingham, amid these fair and witty dames, forgot his "silly Kate;" [33] and was in no haste to exchange the revels of the Louvre for those of Whitehall. His sojourn in Paris, however, did not exceed eight days. The royal bride then left the Louvre, *en route* for Calais, where she was to embark for England. The Queens Marie and Anne were to accompany Henriette and to say farewell at Calais. Richelieu remained in Paris, while the King, after taking leave of his sister, repaired to Fontainebleau, where the court was to assemble on returning from Calais.

On the second day of June 1625, a magnificent cavalcade quitted the Louvre and defiled through the gates of Paris, on the high road towards Amiens. The royal suite comprised the Duke and Duchess de Chevreuse, Mesdames de Launay, de Boissière, de Guercheville and de St. George; the Dukes de Bellegarde, de la Force and d'Elbœuf,

and the Duke of Buckingham and his colleagues, Lords Carlisle and Holland. At Amiens the royal progress was arrested by the sudden indisposition of Marie de' Medici. The court, therefore, halted for the space of a few days, that the Queen-mother might be able to resume her journey to Calais. Marie lodged in the episcopal palace, Anne of Austria in a house with a large garden attached, on the banks of the Somme. Buckingham, meantime, acted the despairing and distracted lover, at the prospect of his approaching separation from the young Queen, "that fairest and sweetest of sovereigns"; and to put the mildest construction on Anne's conduct, it must have been volatile and giddy to a degree, which might warrant most injurious inferences. There seems to be little doubt but that her heart and fancy were touched by the devotion of Buckingham, who talked in exalted strains of the political wonders which he would achieve for France as a tribute to her charms. The life of the Queen had been hitherto so joyless and uncongenial, that probably the very glow of her gratitude at the Duke's homage may have incited him to bolder enterprise. Festivals, meantime, diversified the sojourn of the court at Amiens. The baptism of the eldest son of the Duke de Chaulnes [34] was celebrated by a fête given at the citadel. The sponsors of the young heir were the three queens, Marie, Anne and Henrietta, and Monsieur. Buckingham on this occasion appeared in magnificence truly regal, "portant le plus bel habillement, et mieux assorti qui se verra jamais!"

He wore the collars and badges of four Orders—the Garter, the St. Esprit, the Golden Fleece and the Order of St. George. His hat was adorned with a heron's plume blazing with diamonds, and fastened by a cluster of five of the largest diamonds belonging to the British crown. A ball followed the banquet, which was opened by Buckingham and the Queen, Monsieur dancing with his sister, Queen Henriette. Madame de Chevreuse followed, led by Lord Holland, and the Duke de Chaulnes danced with the young Duchess d'Elbœuf.[35] The next day Monsieur gave a sumptuous entertainment. At the conclusion of the banquet, Buckingham and the English ambassadors escorted Queen Anne to her abode. In the garden on the banks of the Somme, in the soft June moonlight, another suspicious interview between the Queen and the Duke of Buckingham ensued, which produced a disastrous impression even on her Majesty's truest friends, who felt how ungenerously the Duke had compromised their royal mistress. It appears that the Queen, attended by the Duchess de Chevreuse, by her lady-in-waiting, Madame du Vernet, and by her equerry, M. de Putange, and accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham, and by Lord Holland, strolled into the garden at dusk hour. The Duke led the Queen, Madame de Chevreuse was escorted by Holland, and Madame du Vernet by M. de Putange. It was the duty of this last-named person never to lose sight of his royal mistress, but to be always ready to perform any slight service which she might

require. Nothing at first occurred to disturb the serenity of the promenaders; the Queen and her cavalier, with the other personages of the suite, reposed for some time on chairs by the river side, enjoying the refreshing breeze. Anne at length rose, and was led by the Duke into an alley shaded on one side by lofty elms, and on the other closed by a tall trellis covered with creeping plants. Instead of following the Queen, Madame de Chevreuse and her cavalier turned into another sombre walk, while M. de Putange and his companion discreetly remained seated where they were, not wishing to intrude on the conversation of such illustrious personages—the more so, as Putange declared that he supposed M. de Buckingham had some message to impart to her Majesty before his departure, which was fixed for the following day. In a few minutes the voice of the Queen was heard summoning her equerry. Madame du Vernet and Putange hastened to join their royal mistress, whom they found agitated and discomposed, while Buckingham, with his hand grasping the hilt of his sword, leaned defiantly against the trellis. Anne began to reprimand her lady and her equerry for having quitted her; but when respectfully asked the cause of her alarm, her Majesty replied in confusion, "that its cause was, surprise at finding herself alone with M. l'Ambassadeur." "The Duke of Buckingham," relates la Porte,[36] an equerry who was in attendance on the Queen at Amiens, "finding himself alone with her Majesty, and favoured by the gathering ob-

scurity, took the insolent liberty of attempting to kiss the Queen, who immediately cried out, so that aid quickly arrived. Putange, equerry in waiting, was not far away ; and doubtless the consequences might have been perilous had not Putange permitted the said Duke to retire. Everybody in the garden soon gathered on the spot ; then everybody fled, and it was resolved to suppress all mention of the matter." [37]

" Chance," says the methodical Madame de Motteville, the *confidente* of Anne's more sober years, " having led her Majesty with the Duke of Buckingham into a walk concealed by a tall trellis or palisade, the Queen, surprised at finding herself alone, and doubtless importuned and frightened by some too passionate expressions from the Duke, cried out aloud, and calling her equerry blamed him for having neglected to follow her. By this cry her Majesty demonstrated her wisdom and virtue, preferring unsullied innocence and self-respect, rather than to yield to the prompting of fear which possessed her, lest her cry of distress, coming to the ears of the King, might cost her much sorrow. If on this occasion," continues Anne's warm apologist, " her Majesty betrayed that her heart was susceptible of some tenderness for the man who adored her, it must be owned that her love for virtuous purity and propriety prevailed."[38] The following day, Buckingham quitted Amiens with Queen Henrietta. Marie and Anne escorted the bride for a distance of one league on her road, for the Queen-mother continued too

unwell to make the entire journey to Calais, and King Charles was beginning to be impatient and to wonder at the delay of his bride. "The Queen did me the honour to confide to me," says Madame de Motteville, "that when the Duke of Buckingham presented himself to say a last farewell and to kiss her robe, she was sitting on the front seat of her coach with the Princess de Conty by her side, and that the said Duke hid his face behind the curtain as if to speak a few words in private, but in reality to conceal his tears, which were falling plentifully. The Princess de Conty then said that she could answer to the King for the virtue of the Queen, though she could not speak so positively of the hardness of her heart, as the tears of the Duke evidently affected her spirits." Enough had, however, been done and said to render very bitter the future life of Anne of Austria, and to fill the mind of Louis XIII. with suspicion. From the period of the advent of Richelieu to power the young Queen was always attended by his shadow, in the person of a household spy and informer, but who the person then was thus employed by his Eminence does not clearly appear, though probably it was Madame du Vernet.[39]

The Duke of Orleans, and all the chief noblemen in attendance at Amiens, accompanied Queen Henrietta to Boulogne, leaving their Majesties with a very limited suite. Tempestuous winds, however, unfortunately prevented the embarkation of the Queen of England. The English fleet lay at anchor in Boulogne roads, having landed

the Duchess of Buckingham, the Countess of Denbigh and the Marchioness of Hamilton, who had been despatched by King Charles to pay homage to their royal mistress. The delay lasted for more than a week, during which Anne frequently corresponded with Madame de Chevreuse and sent her letters by La Porte. "I came and I returned," says the latter; "I carried letters to Madame de Chevreuse and returned with her replies, which appeared to be of the utmost consequence, because Queen Anne ordered M. le Duc Chaulnes to take care that the gates of Amiens were never closed, so that I might not be delayed at any hour, even in the night."[40] Anne at the time when she issued so unusual an order little dreamed of the construction likely to be attached thereto. A prey to the wildest grief at quitting France, Buckingham determined to bid one more distracted adieu "to the fairest vision which had ever gladdened his sight." An express from his master King Charles served as an excuse for his sudden return to Amiens with La Porte accompanied by Lord Holland, under pretext that he was ordered to consult the Queen-mother on some matter, as he said, relative to the reception in London of Cardinal de Berulle and of Henrietta's unwelcome suite of ecclesiastics. Madame de Chevreuse, meantime despatched private letters to Anne of Austria, warning her of Buckingham's audacious intentions and counselling her not to admit him to her presence. Buckingham's consort also sent a humble missive to Anne, accompanied by an

elegant fan of feathers adorned with the portraits of Charles I. and of her husband. While the Duke proceeded to audience of Queen Marie, La Porte sought the abode of the young Queen and was admitted to her ante-room. Anne was in bed, having recently been bled; she took the letters from La Porte with an indifferent air, and exclaimed after perusing them, hearing of the arrival of the Duke, "They are indeed come back, these cavaliers; I thought that we were delivered finally from the society of 'ces Messieurs'!" Anne, therefore, being forewarned, had leisure to deny admittance to the Duke had she been wisely inclined. Having rapidly despatched his business with the Queen-mother, Buckingham hurried to Anne's abode.

The Queen was jesting with Madame de la Boissière on the Duke's return, when he abruptly entered the apartment. Without observing the preliminary salutations prescribed by royal etiquette to those persons admitted to such audience, the Duke rushed forward, and dropped on his knees by the Queen's pillow. So great apparently was Anne's surprise, that she remained silent for some moments, and then turned an appealing look, half laughing, half weeping, at the grim matron her lady of honour, who stood in the *ruelle* of the bed. "'Monseigneur,' said Madame de Launay, indignantly, 'it is not our custom to act as you are now doing!' 'Madame, I am not a Frenchman, neither am I bound by your laws!' So saying," relates Madame de Motteville, "he addressed the Queen, uttering aloud tender decla-

rations. Her Majesty replied by complaining of his audacity, but without perhaps showing as much anger as she ought; but still, commanding the said Duke, in severe tones, to rise and retire from her presence." [41] "When I returned to her Majesty to receive her orders for the morrow," nevertheless, relates La Porte, "I found both my English lords, who were staying much later than etiquette admitted. Madame de Launay, the lady in waiting, never left her Majesty's side, neither would she permit any of the attendant women and officers of the chamber to depart, until these gentlemen had taken their leave." [42] Buckingham again obtained audience of Anne on the following day, and then took his final departure for Boulogne.

The young Queen of England sailed on the 22nd of June,[43] much to the delight of King Charles and of his goodly company of lords and ladies, who had been waiting the arrival of the beautiful bride since the beginning of the month. "Queen Henrietta—so it is alleged—was detained by her mother's illness; but if all be true that is reported, they can have made no great haste, having to march to Boulogne instead of Calais, with a little army of 4000 at least, whereof the Duke de Chevreuse and his followers make up 300, besides 60 that belong to his kitchen."

On the same day the French court set out for Fontainebleau, where Louis XIII. waited. Anne trembled, as she anticipated the effect which the report of the festivities at Amiens might have

produced on the mind of her stern consort. "The King," relates La Porte, the most faithful of all Anne's adherents, "testified the strongest jealousy at all these proceedings, and believed the malignant interpretation put upon them by her Majesty's enemies. The Queen-mother, however, tried to disabuse her son's mind, and told him that it was nothing, for that if the Queen had desired to do evil it was impossible, she having had so many around her. This reason, though incontestable, did not extinguish the jealousy of the King, as he proceeded to demonstrate." On the 20th of July, just five days after the arrival of Anne of Austria at Fontainebleau, Louis sent his confessor, le P. Seguéran, to intimate to Madame du Vernet his will that she should resign her office of *dame d'atours* to the Queen his consort and retire from court. The same dismissal was given to M. de Putange and to the Queen's first physician, Ribéra,[44] who both departed from the palace on the same day. The Chevalier du Jars, another officer of the Queen's household, whom her Majesty had just sent to England with letters for Madame de Chevreuse, and one whom she especially favoured, was likewise dismissed. La Porte was also included in the sentence, his zeal for the Queen's service being well known. On the 21st of July, therefore, Seguéran again made his ominous appearance at her Majesty's *lever*. "The King, Madame, desires that you will still dismiss another servant of your household of the name of La Porte." "The Queen looked at me very

sorrowfully, and then desired the reverend father to say to his Majesty, that she begged him to name at once all those persons whom he would not permit her to retain, that the affair might be ended." These proceedings greatly increased the discord between the royal pair.[45] Louis addressed the sharpest of written rebukes to his thoughtless consort, and even threatened her with divorce. "Teatino! so early a visit as this to my lady Queen bodes no good. Alas! the signs are evil!" had been the exclamation of Doña Estephania, Anne's Spanish tirewoman and nurse, when she had admitted Father Seguéran to the presence of her royal mistress.

Anne remained at Fontainebleau in a condition of great depression and solitude for upwards of two months. She seems to have offered no excuses to her royal husband, while her resentment against Richelieu glowed fiercely. Anne, in her wrath, accused the Cardinal of seeking to sow dissension between the King and herself to procure her divorce, so that Louis might marry Richelieu's niece, *la Veuve Combalet*—a pretty but shrewish woman, who, during her uncle's despotic reign, shared his influence, and became the divinity of the politic Parisians. Richelieu made several attempts to conciliate her Majesty and to intercede for her restoration to the good graces of her husband. Anne repulsed every overture, but drew forth her weapons of retaliation, and "offered the astute Cardinal war to the death." It might have been supposed that the chagrin and

anxiety which Anne had endured would have taught her prudence, instead of which her correspondence multiplied with Madame de Chevreuse, who still remained in England, and with the newly-arrived Spanish ambassador, the Marquis de Mirabel. She manifested interest in all the proceedings of the Duke of Buckingham, and once, when some alleged act of the Duke's was accidentally discussed in her presence, she coolly contradicted the report, saying, "*je viens de recevoir de ses lettres!*" In England, also, the Duke's enthusiasm for Anne of Austria was not tempered by prudential considerations, or by delicacy for the feelings and honour of a great monarch, the brother of his own royal mistress, Queen Henrietta. He wore Anne's portrait, toasted her at the Whitehall banquets, displayed her likeness in most of the chambers of his princely mansions, disregardful of the feelings of his own "silly Kate"; all which aberrations were duly chronicled by the French ambassador in London, and transmitted for the perusal of the Cardinal minister, and to become the source of endless gloomy ponderings in the mind of King Louis.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

[1] When she was informed of the assassination of Concini, Marie de' Medici exclaimed, "J'ai régné sept ans; je n'attends plus qu'une couronne au Ciel!" Some one present uttered an ejaculation of pity for the fate of the marquis and his wife. Marie wrathfully replied, "Qu'on ne me parle plus de ces gens-là; je les ai avertis du malheur où ils se sont précipités! Que ne suivoient-ils mes avis?"

[2] Récit véritable de tout ce qui s'est passé au Louvre, &c., Archives Curieuses, t. 2, 2ème série.—Hist. de la Mère et du Fils, Richelieu.—Le Vassor, Hist. du Régne de Louis XIII.—Vie de Marie de' Medici, Dreux du Radier.

[3] Histoire Tragique du Marquis d'Ancre et de sa Femme, Archives Curieuses, t. 2, 2ème série. Bibl. Imp. MS. Dupuy, vol. 661, fol. 127.

[4] Dreux du Radier, Vie de la Reine Anne d'Autriche.—Cayet, Chron. Septénaire. Tallemant des Réaux. Concini's son eventually became possessed of the foreign investments made by his parents, and inherited a patrimony of 2000 pounds of annual revenue. He died without posterity, at Florence.

[5] "La douceur complaisante de son visage luy est comme une lettre générale de créance pour toute sorte d'affaires; et vers toutes sortes de personnes."

[6] "La femme de Luynes est une escervelée, qui n'a que dix-neuf ans, à laquelle son mari baille une governante pour la conduire; et cependant M. de Luynes veut qui la maison de la reine passe sous sa disposition," &c.—Le Contadin Provençal,—Pamphlet contre M. le Duc de Luynes, Connétable de France.

[7] MS. Simancas, A. 75.—Capefigue, Vie d'Anne d'Autriche; the words of the despatch are "y que por no veria, dixava no dormir con la Reyna."

[8] "Le Roy etait bon confiturier, bon jardinier; il fit mûrir des pois verts, qu'il envoya vendre au marché. On dit que Montauron les acheta bien cher, car c'étaient les premiers venus."—Tallemant, Vie de Louis XIII.

[9] Bassompierre, Journal de ma Vie.

[10] Hist. de la Mère et du Fils, t. 2. Dreux du Radier, t. 5.

[11] "Marier ma fille à un prince étranger sans m'avoir appelée, afin que ma honte soit manifeste à tous les roys et princes de la Chrestienté, et de toute la France," wrote Marie, indignantly, in the letter addressed to her son, and entitled "Plaintes de la Reyne-Mère au Roy son Fils."

[12] Anne wrote from Tours a pleasant little note to Madame de Montglat, who still resided at St. Germain, as preceptress to the sisters of the King. Her Majesty desired her love to the Princesses—"mais non pas à ma sœur de Verneuil, qui est une paresseuse."—MS. Bibl. Imp. F. fr. 3818.

[13] "La Duchesse de Luynes était très bien avec son mari."—Madame de Motteville, Mem., vol. i.

[14] One day Louis, riding by the Hôtel de Luynes, saw the English ambassador alight from his coach and enter the mansion. "Ah! il va à l'audience du Roi Luynes," bitterly exclaimed the King.

[15] Anne Marie de Luynes, who died a nun, at Maubuisson, in great odour of piety. The son of the Constable, Louis Charles Albert, Duc de Luynes, was born December 25, 1620, and died October 1690.

[16] Charlotte Marguerite de Montmorency.

[17] Journal de ma Vie, Bassompierre.—Année 1622.

[18] Laurence de Clermont, the third wife of the Constable Henri Duc de Montmorency.—See Freer's Last Decade of a Glorious Reign, for the history of the Duchess, and of her persecutions, vol. 2, p. 17.

[19] Un gentil mot du Sieur de Pluvinel était—Que le Roy à pied est Roy de ses sujets; mais qu'à cheval il est Roy des Rois—voulant montrer combien est excellente en cette art sa majesté.—Le Portrait

du Roy Louis XIII., par le Sieur de Bellemavre au Sieur de Mérencourt à Venise. Paris, 1618.

[20] Marie de Rohan, widow of the deceased Constable de Luynes. She married the Duke de Chevreuse in 1622. "C'était le second des MM. de Guise, et le mieux fait de tous les quatre: le Cardinal était plus beau, mais M. de Chevreuse était l'homme de la meilleure mine qu'on pouvait voir; il avait de l'esprit passablement."—Tallemant, t. 2, p. 38.

[21] "Le Duc de Montmorency était très assidu auprès d'Anne d'Autriche; il fit même le passioné. Louis en parut alarmé; et les amis du Duc lui conséillèrent de s'absenter de la cour, Marie de' Medici se chargeant de convaincre son fils que ce bruit injurieux à la jeune reine n'était qu'une imposture des ennemis de Montmorency." —Anquetil, Tallemant. Madame de Motteville allows that the Duke permitted himself great liberty towards the Queen, under the cloak of what was termed "la galanterie espagnole."

[22] François Leclerc de Tremblay, born in Paris, Nov. 4, 1577, son of Jean Leclerc de Tremblay, French Ambassador at Venice, chancellor of the Duke d'Alençon, brother of Henry III., and of Marie de la Fayette, daughter of Claude de la Fayette, Sieur de St. Romain. He took the habit of St. Francis, February 2, 1599, and entered the monastery of the Great Franciscans, Rue St. Honoré.

[23] Marie Madeleine de Vignerot, daughter of René de Vignerot, Seigneur de Pont de Courlay, and of Françoise du Plessis-Richelieu, sister of the Cardinal. Marie de' Medici presented the bride with a dowry of 200,000 livres, and a *parure* of diamonds worth 12,000 crowns.

[24] "Le Cardinal haïssait Monsieur; et craignant, vu le peu de santé que le Roi avait, qu'il ne parvînt à la couronne, il fit dessein de gagner la Reine. Pour parvenir à son but, il la mit sans qu'elle sût d'où cela venait fort mal avec le Roi et avec la Reine-mère, jusque-là qu'elle était fort maltraitée de l'un et de l'autre. Après il lui fit dire, par Madame de Fargis, dame d'atours, que si elle vouloit, il le tireroit bientôt de la misère dans laquelle elle vivoit."—Tallemant, t. 2, p. 282.

[25] Mém. de Brienne, t. 1, p. 274. "On rioit à gorge déployée; et qui pouvait s'en empêcher, puisque après cinquante ans j'en ris encore moi-même?" asks the Count de Brienne, when he ends his story.

[26] The Infanta Marguerite espoused the Emperor Ferdinand III.

[27] Thomson's Life of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.

[28] Godefroy, Grand Cérém. de France, t. 2. Mercure de France, ann. 1625. "Après suivait le reine de France très superbement vêtue d'une robe de toile d'argent en broderie; menée et conduite par ses deux écuyers."

[29] Thomson's Life of the Duke of Buckingham.

[30] Bassompierre. Mém. d'un Favory du Duc d'Orléans: écrit par M. de Bois d'Annemets—l'heureux Favory. Thomson's Life of the Duke of Buckingham. Cabala MS., 312.

[31] The Duke was hospitably entertained by the Duke de Chevreuse at his hôtel, Rue St. Thomas du Louvre.

[32] Mém. de Madame de Motteville, t. 1. Madame de Motteville was not an eye-witness of the facts she records, as she had not then permanently entered into the service of the Queen. She records the reminiscences and confessions of Anne of Austria. It was in the year 1640 that Madame de Motteville became resident bed-chamber woman to the Queen.

[33] The name given to the Duchess of Buckingham in their correspondence by King Charles and her husband.

[34] Honorè d'Albert, Seigneur de Cadenet, created Duke de Chaulnes on his marriage with Charlotte d'Ailly, Countess de Chaulnes and de Péquiny. The King gave him the government of Picardy.

[35] Catherine Henriette de Bourbon, daughter of Henri Quatre and Gabrielle d'Estrées. The Duchess died June 20, 1663.

[36] Laporte, who was confidentially trusted by the queen, and who was then an inmate of her abode in Amiens, gives the following relation of the adventure: "Après s'être bien promenée la reine se reposa quelque temps, et toutes les dames aussi ; puis elle se levait et dans le tournement d'une allée où les dames ne la suivirent pas, sitôt le duc de Buckingham se voyant seul avec elle à la faveur de l'obscurité qui commençait à chasser la lumière, s'émancipa fort insolemment jusqu'à vouloir caresser la Reine, qui en même temps fit un cri auquel tout le monde accourut."—Mém. Particuliers de La Porte : Genève, 1756.

[37] Ibid., Mém. de La Porte.

[38] Mém. de Motteville, tome 1. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld also relates the incident, which created unspeakable consternation and comment. He says, "Que la reine fut contrainte d'appeler ses femmes."

[39] Nicolette d'Albert, youngest sister of the Constable de Luynes ; she espoused M. Vernet, a person of low origin, dancing-master to the pages of the Duke de Montmorency. Mademoiselle d'Albert, previous to her marriage, had greatly compromised her reputation. She was handsome and sprightly, and through her brother's influence was appointed dame d'atours to the Queen, while her husband was made Governor of Calais. She subsequently married Henri de la Marck Duc de Bouillon, through the favour of Richelieu.

[40] Mém. Particuliers de M. de La Porte.

[41] Mém. de Motteville, t. 1.

[42] La Porte, Mém. Particuliers. These memoirs are included in the Collection Petitot.

[43] Mém. d'un Favory de Monseigneur le Duc de Orléans. "C'étoit une chose admirable de voir se superbe appareil (de vaisseaux Anglais) ; on ne se la peut représenter qu'on ne s'imagine de voir une grande ville flottante ayant plusieurs clochers."

[44] The reason of the disgrace of Anne's Spanish physician has never been ascertained. Ribéra was not permitted to remain in France.

[45] Anne sharply observed one day to her royal consort, "Qu'elle n'avait pu empêcher que le Duc de Boukingham n'eût de l'estime, et même de l'amour d'elle ! " an observation which greatly incensed the King.

CHAPTER III

1626

ANNE OF AUSTRIA AND THE CONSPIRACY OF THE PRINCE DE CHALAIS

The marriage of Madame Henriette over, the excitement of the court subsided, and the daily incidents of the palace were varied only by the dissensions and reconciliations of Marie de' Medici and her minister. These violent spirits differed, clamoured, threatened each other with annihilation, wept and embraced. The successful issue of Richelieu's policy in the affair of the strongholds of the Valteline, which France refused to deliver up to the Holy See pending the settlement of the question relative to the disputed possession of these places, raised the reputation of his Eminence to high repute. The important concessions, moreover, which Richelieu wrested from some of the chief Huguenots of the realm, and his firm attitude in upholding the majesty and dignity of the crown, delighted the King, whose aspirations were despotic though he lacked firmness to enforce his will. In the deportment of the Cardinal there was a novel ingredient which astonished and awed the swarm of unruly courtiers, who had rendered the regency of the Queen-mother one vast cabal. Richelieu jested with the merry, wept with the melancholy, granted favours to the unfortun-

ate, looked downcast under verbal obloquy, and even seemed anxious to turn away wrath by the magic of a soft answer ; great, therefore, had been the individual surprises of certain railers, malcontents and caballers, to find themselves suddenly transported to the Bastille by virtue of a privy-council warrant ; or seized in the night, and conveyed under escort to some distant château, all under the hand and seal of the gracious churchman who dominated at the Louvre. Le Père Joseph,[1] or *l'Eminence Grise*, as was the *sobriquet* of the able tool of Richelieu—so clever, indeed, that doubt arises whether the Cardinal was not the puppet, and le Père Joseph the motive power in the relation between these astute men—also was fast rising into a personage of importance, being treated with deference by the ministers whom it had pleased Richelieu to retain at their posts.

Over the life of Anne of Austria, however, the darkest blight had fallen. Her lord, King Louis, suffered her indeed to live under the sheltering roof of his royal Louvre, but he permitted her there to exist only as a political and social nullity to whom the most ordinary amusements of her rank and station were denied: a Queen who had to ask permission to quit the precincts of the palace, who could confer no favour, and whose splendour, even on public occasions, was surpassed by that of the Queen-mother, to whom she had to yield precedence. The proud spirit of the Queen rebelled against these restrictions ; over the heart of her husband her beauty exercised no spell, to

him her vivacity was repellant, while the very sound of her rich and sonorous language reminded Louis of a foe. No rival, nevertheless, dominated over the heart of the boy-king; the wanton beauties of the late reign never attracted a glance from the sad eyes of Louis XIII., indeed, flippancy of manner was punished by exclusion from the Louvre—a rigour which was for some time unsparingly exercised after the scandals of Henrietta's marriage festivities. Anne's most happy time was spent in seclusion at St. Germain, where she often craved permission to sojourn followed by a few ladies, in order to superintend the formation of the gardens planned by Henri Quatre. The Queen passionately loved flowers,[2] and a similarity of taste often brought into her society her young and brilliant brother-in-law, Monsieur. Impetuous in all things, Anne gave herself up to the pleasure of his society, and discarded in favour of Monsieur most of the etiquettes which then hedged in a queen of France, even from familiarity with her husband's brother. She was heard to address Monsieur in public as *mon frère*, she permitted him to kiss her hands, to enter her presence unannounced, she sent him letters, which she asserted related only to botany, a science in which the young Duke was an adept. In short, with girlish coquetry Anne was preparing for herself a more cruel ordeal than any she had yet undergone.

Gaston, Duke of Orleans, had now attained his eighteenth year. Heir-presumptive to a throne—

the occupier of which was childless, and pronounced by the most learned physicians of the realm to be in a condition of health, from epileptic fits and other maladies, from which fatal results might ensue at any period—Monsieur was a personage to be revered and conciliated.

Fondly beloved from his youth upwards by his mother, and indulged by her without reason, the young Duke, until after the exile of Queen Marie, set discipline at defiance. The late King had nominated M. de Brèves as the governor of his son Gaston—a statesman of enlightenment, who had added to the glory of the reign of Henri Quatre by his able diplomacy at foreign courts. His attachment to Marie de' Medici rendering him suspected, de Brèves was dismissed by the Constable de Luynes, who gave the office to his own early patron, the Count de Lude. M. de Lude was too wealthy and influential a nobleman to give that abject obedience to the royal commands expected from him, and therefore soon resigned his post to the Marshal d'Ornano, who forthwith entered on his functions, and prospered. Monsieur, on the completion of his education, became the centre of a knot of idle, insolent and mischievous young cavaliers, who, living on their wits, and by the sufferance of certain potent dames of the court, sought to kindle the ambition of their royal master, and to urge him into endless schemes opposed to the government of the King, all tending to their own aggrandisement. The leaders amongst these gentlemen were MM. de Puylau-

rens, de Chalais, de la Valette, de Bois d'Annemets, the Duke de Vendôme and the Grand Prior his brother, the young Count de Lude, M. de Marcheville, the Count de Louvigny, and MM. de Coigneux and de la Rivière and others.[3] These unruly spirits professed reverential devotion for the Queens, Anne and Marie; they sympathised with the former, and to mark such feeling attended assiduously the *levers* of the Spanish ambassador. The Cardinal de Richelieu they abhorred and ridiculed, while they crooned over his Majesty, and predicted his early death and the consequent elevation of their own royal master. Instead of checking this license of word and deed, d'Ornano encouraged such, being convinced likewise that Gaston would ultimately become King of France. It might seem difficult for these mischief-makers to find grievances for Monsieur, who was young, flattered, indulged and surfeited with luxury and wealth; nevertheless, two wrongs by which he was afflicted were discovered, discussed and unfolded. The first grievance was the alliance contracted for the Duke with Marie de Montpensier: the which barred him from the free choice of a consort, deprived him of the influence accruing from a foreign alliance, and rendered him for ever subject in purse and dignity to his brother the King. The betrothal of the Duke to Mademoiselle de Montpensier was the subject of much factious discussion. The King, the Queen-mother, and Richelieu promoted it as a matter of sound policy and of honourable fulfilment of a pledge given by

the late king. The Prince and Princess de Condé naturally gave no encouragement to a marriage which would probably remove Condé from his proud position of the third personage in the realm. A portion of the house of Guise-Lorraine jealously deprecated the elevation of its head, by the marriage of the step-daughter of M. de Guise with the heir-presumptive. Gaston himself spoke spitefully of his pale *fiancée*, and imprudently declared that, like M. de Buckingham, he would vow allegiance only to his sister-in-law, Queen Anne. The young Count de Soissons opposed the alliance on the ground that Mademoiselle de Montpensier had been promised to himself by Marie de' Medici during her regency, in lieu of her own daughter Madame Henriette should the alliance of the latter with the heir of the English crown be accomplished. The sentiments of the young princess were in favour of alliance with Monsieur, and probably no person was more astonished than Marie de Montpensier herself to hear a union discussed which from childhood she had deemed to be her destiny. Anne very imprudently suffered her wishes and opinions on the alliance to transpire, which declaration was met on the part of the King by an absolute command to Monsieur to fulfil his engagement. The Queen-mother at the same time reiterated this order, though it is believed that she now secretly encouraged the Duke in his aversion for his betrothed. The faltering health of King Louis rendered Monsieur a grand card in the hands of skilful diplomatists. Spain

wished to maintain the French alliance. Anne of Austria, childless, and probably soon likely to become a widow, pleased the young prince, and was said to be herself influenced by his fascinations. The question, therefore, arose in the subtle brain of the Queen-mother whether sound policy, and a due regard to her own interest, did not direct that Gaston d'Orléans, on succeeding to his brother's crown, should also take to wife the widow of his predecessor? It is asserted, and on very strong evidence, that the young Queen likewise pondered deeply on this question, and eventually signified to Mirabel, and to others, her willingness, in case of widowhood, to follow the example of Queen Anne de Bretagne, who twice wore the matrimonial crown of France.[4] There can be no doubt that at this period the alliance between Monsieur and the Queens to overthrow the power of Richelieu was projected. Marie de' Medici fiercely resented the independence of Richelieu, and hated his system of centralisation and repression; and to procure his disgrace, or removal from the ministry, was the first necessary step towards his overthrow. Whether Anne contemplated the dilemma into which her resentment was plunging her is doubtful; the Queen throughout her chequered career was ever ready to plot and to dissemble, but the consequences of her intrigues never seem to have aroused her solicitude.

Madame de Chevreuse, meantime, that arch and daring spirit, so full of resource and constancy, had not yet returned to France; but, alarmed at the

wrath of her sovereign, the Duchess had wisely remained at Brussels, on a visit to the Archduchess Infanta Isabel. By some means not on record, though probably by a letter from the Queen, the Duchess was put *au courant* with the proposed intrigue, and entered into it with ardour and with her accustomed audacity. Through Madame de Chevreuse, therefore, Anne caused a notification to be made to the Marshal d'Ornano, the ex-governor, but bosom friend of Monsieur, "that it would gratify her much if he could find means to prevent the marriage of M. d'Orléans with Marie de Bourbon-Montpensier."[5] "I acted thus, because I believed that this marriage, favoured by the Queen-mother, was against my interests; because, if the future Madame bore children and I had none, she would be more highly considered than myself,"[6] is Anne's own declaration. Amongst the most devoted admirers of Madame de Chevreuse was Henry de Talleyrand, Prince de Chalais,[7] master of the wardrobe to the King and first gentleman to Monsieur, in whose train he always appeared. Chalais, therefore, betrayed by the dazzling charms of this syren, and too happy to supplant Lord Holland in her favour, prepared to obey her behests.

D'Ornano, meanwhile, having declared himself a devoted adherent of Queen Anne, did all he could to disgust the Duke of Orleans with his bride-elect. "If you, Monseigneur, espouse a subject of the King your brother, you will yourself fall into greater subjection to his authority. Your

fortune and lands will ever remain in his Majesty's power; and if at any future period you stand in need of foreign support or help, to not one potentate of Europe can you appeal!" [8] The foreign alliance to which, it is supposed, d'Ornano hinted, was the union of Monsieur with the Infanta Marguerite, sister of Anne, once the betrothed of King Charles I. of England and eventually the consort of the Emperor Ferdinand III. This alliance—failing one with Anne of Austria in the event of the death of the King—was highly approved by Monsieur; being, as he said, altogether more august and profitable, if less wealthy, than a marriage with Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

This grievance of his compulsory marriage being well engrafted on the willing mind of Gaston d'Orléans, the Marshal d'Ornano next commented on his shameful exclusion from the privy council; a disgrace inflicted by the *parvenu* minister, whose dismissal was necessary to vindicate the honour of Monsieur. The Duke declared that this slight was keenly felt by himself, and that he was determined to have redress or to withdraw from court. At the beginning of Easter week, 1626, the King left Paris for Fontainebleau, accompanied by Monsieur and by the Queen-mother. Anne likewise received a command to follow; and as her Majesty loved very much "*à respirer l'air des bois*," she journeyed thither with pleasure. The day following the arrival of the court at Fontainebleau, Monsieur opened his battery by informing King Louis "that it was a reproach and shame to

him, that being his Majesty's brother, he had no share or influence in affairs of state." A sharp discussion ensued, during which Monsieur took the opportunity peremptorily to decline the hand of Marie de Montpensier, adding, "that the neglect which he experienced convinced him of the wisdom of the opinion expressed by his friends that a foreign alliance was requisite for his honour and prosperity."[9] Louis replied soothingly, "that he would consider the request and make answer in a few days." Richelieu, meantime, had his attention riveted on the malcontents; and soon he discovered the simmerings of their resentment, and fathomed the sullen passiveness of Anne of Austria. From her Majesty the eyes of his Eminence took survey of the position of the Duchess de Chevreuse in Brussels, "*cette femme qui faisoit plus de mal que personne;*" and with his habitual discernment Richelieu divined that some plot, hostile to the existing order of affairs in France, was in agitation. Monsieur meantime stormed, and despatched d'Ornano, the bearer of his complaints, to the villa of the Cardinal at Fleury, where the prudent prelate had deemed himself safer than to abide at Fontainebleau. The Marshal obtained audience of the minister, who received Monsieur's message without surprise, and declared himself "the humble servant of M. d'Orléans." During a promenade made by d'Ornano and the minister in the gardens of the latter, the Marshal was seized with cramp in the leg and a trembling of the limbs;[10] ailments which afterwards were declared

to be sympathetic with the ire which surged in the heart of his Eminence. The following day—as five days had elapsed since the Duke petitioned the King—Monsieur sought audience of his mother, and announced his resolve to leave Fontainebleau, adding menaces concerning his intended destination. Marie, alarmed, soothed her son, and promised that, as on the morrow a privy council was to sit, his wishes should be gratified. From this point it is difficult to follow the Queen-mother in her dubious course; whether or no Richelieu temporarily resumed his old power over her mind by his concessions relative to Monsieur, it is certain that the acts of Marie de' Medici again corresponded, for some interval, with the policy of the minister. A secret council was holden the same evening in the apartments of the Queen-mother, at which the King, the Cardinal and the Chancellor d'Aligre were present. It was resolved to gratify Monsieur, but to arrest so pernicious a counsellor as the Marshal d'Ornano. The introduction of the Duke as a privy councillor was effected on the morrow, after an angry tirade from the Marshal, who claimed, but was refused, the privilege of entering the council chamber with his late pupil, and standing behind his chair, as the secretaries of state attended his Majesty. The same night d'Ornano was arrested in the *Chambre Ovale*, and conveyed to the chamber which had been used as a temporary prison for the unfortunate Marshal de Biron, also made a prisoner at Fontainebleau. The tumult in the palace was

great; and Puylaurens, one of the *mignons* of Monsieur, rushed to the chamber of the Duke, crying out in consternation that M. d'Ornano was arrested! The Duke sprang from his bed in frantic passion, and was hastily arraying himself, when an equerry entered and summoned him to the presence of the King.

Gaston found the King surrounded by the chief noblemen present at Fontainebleau, and looking cool and unmoved as he might have been if discussing the odds of a game of tennis. In the apartment was the Queen-mother, *en robe de chambre;* also the Cardinal. Louis opened the conference by calmly saying, "that to his very great regret he had been compelled to order the arrest of the Marshal d'Ornano, who had treacherously attempted to create brawls between his brother and himself." The eyes of Monsieur sparkled with fury. "Your Majesty has been grossly deceived; nobody can judge of the innocence of M. d'Ornano better than myself! Never has he given me advice counter to your Majesty's service. The authors of this evil deed are abominable and wicked, and never will I pardon them until I have reduced them to dust under my feet." The Cardinal here interposed, and gravely demanded whether Monseigneur referred in such language to his Majesty's ministers? "I speak of and refer to the accusers of M. d'Ornano. See, Messieurs, whether you will dare to be amongst their number!" replied Monsieur. The King here assured Monsieur of his affection, saying, "that he regarded him as a son

and an only brother, and would soon make clear to him *les tromperies* de M. le Maréchal." "The very thing I beseech your Majesty to do," responded Gaston undauntedly, "as I pray you to give me back my friend promptly, when you are assured of his innocence!" Monsieur then abruptly left the room.[11] A silence of some moments ensued. Richelieu then proposed the further arrest of MM. de Masargues and Dangeant, the brother-in-law and the secretary of the prisoner; also that Madame la Maréchale d'Ornano should be arrested and conducted outside the gates of Paris, and there discharged from custody.[12] His Majesty gave assent to these measures, and then dismissed the high personages present, complaining of fatigue. The next day d'Ornano was conveyed to the fortress of Vincennes under a strong guard, and confined in its most unwholesome chamber, which admitted a pestilential malaria from the moat beneath.[13] The friends of the Marshal asserted that he was a victim to the King's indecision respecting Monsieur, for that when the Duke was emancipated from the control of his tutors his Majesty had commanded d'Ornano to repress the ardour of Gaston's suit to Mademoiselle de Montpensier. The rage of Monsieur was not assuaged when he learned the departure of the Marshal for Vincennes; and the young cavaliers of his suite assiduously inflamed his wrath, especially Chalais and M. de Louvigny. The Duke one day suddenly encountered the Chancellor d'Aligre, and haughtily asked him whether he was one of those who

had counselled the iniquitous arrest of M. d'Ornano ? Surprised by the excitement of the Duke's manner, the Chancellor stammered " that he was as much astonished as his royal highness, and had nothing to do with the affair "; an answer which was punished by immediate dismissal from office.[14] The Duke put the same abrupt question to Richelieu, who boldly responded " that he was not intending to make the same answer as M. le Chancelier, who, as well as himself, had advised the King to effect that arrest, after hearing his Majesty's statements."

As moderation and apparent disinterestedness were assumed by Richelieu at the commencement of his power, he immediately petitioned the King to suffer him to withdraw to his house at Fleury, as he found that he had irrevocably offended Monsieur. Without waiting for the royal reply, which Louis never gave but with hesitation, his Eminence ordered his coach and quitted Fontainebleau.[15]

This " flight," as it was termed by Monsieur and by the turbulent spirits around him, raised the confidence of the conspirators in their insane projects, and confirmed them in a criminal design they harboured, to rid themselves of the obnoxious minister by taking his life. The Count de Soissons promised his co-operation, after exacting a solemn declaration from Monsieur that he relinquished all pretensions to the hand of Marie de Montpensier. The Duke de Vendôme and the Grand Prior, his brother, flocked to the standard of Monsieur on this supposed triumph of his

policy; while frequent communications passed between Chalais and Madame de Chevreuse. These letters were submitted to Monsieur, who showed them to Queen Anne. Madame de Chevreuse, meantime, maintained the closest relations with the Marquis de Lainez, an attaché of the Spanish legation at Brussels. The assassination of Richelieu was daringly discussed by these plotters; a deed to be followed by the emancipation of M. d'Orléans, the liberation of the Queen from her matrimonial bondage, and possibly by the compulsory abdication of Louis XIII. in favour of his brother. As a step to the accomplishment of this great project, Chalais advised that M. le Grand-Prieur,[16] "*qui était très redoutable et habile, ayant sur tous part en l'esprit de Monsieur*," should without delay repair to Havre, and win over his uncle the Duc de Villars, governor of that important port, to the cause of Gaston. Up to this point all had prospered in safety and secrecy; the retirement of Richelieu from court, however, moved the impatient spirit of the hostile clique, and it was determined to forestall the slow progress of any negotiation with Spain by striking an immediate blow at the life of the Cardinal. Nine of Monsieur's most intimate friends held council three days after the arrest of d'Ornano, and decided the matter under the presidency of the Duke; these persons were Chalais, Soissons, the Marquis de la Valette,[17] Puylaurens, Bois d'Annemets, Louvigny, Marsillac, Vendôme, and St. Géry. The scheme of the assassins was simple in its atrocity: it was

planned to send six inferior officers of the household of Monsieur to Fleury, the country house of Richelieu, where the latter was residing alone and comparatively unattended, at three o'clock in the morning of the day but one following. These personages were to rouse the household of his Eminence by clamorous shouts; when admittance was obtained, which was to be demanded in the name of M. d'Orléans, who, they were to state, was on his road to breakfast at Fleury, they were to pick a quarrel with the servants, draw their swords, and to assassinate the Cardinal in the mêlée.[18] The Duke was then to put himself at the head of the malcontents, and act as circumstances might dictate. His seditious challenge was to be for the Church, the liberty of the princes of the blood, the annihilation of the Huguenots, the alliance with Spain, and the rights of the Queen. When all was prepared, and nothing but the actual blow of the assassin seemed needed to effect the longed-for emancipation, Chalais failed his accomplices. He possessed a friend, one M. de Valencey, who had appeared to relish the designs of the confederates when a word of disaffection had been accidentally dropped in his presence, but who had never actually declared himself. To this personage Chalais had the weakness to confide the plot on the eve of its execution. "How, Monsieur," exclaimed Valencey in generous indignation, "so audacious and abominable a plot is projected by the King's servants, to slay another and a cherished servant of his Majesty, and you do not

hasten to denounce the vile conspiracy! You will at once do so, Monsieur, or take the consequences of my own immediate revelation of the treachery!" In vain Chalais entreated for silence; but Valencey insisted that he should at once accompany him to Fleury, and warn M. le Cardinal: "Do it, Monsieur, in your own words: give your own explanation—make the best of it; but go I must to his Eminence alone, or in your company." Chalais in despair obeyed, and the two repaired to Fleury and obtained audience of the Cardinal. Richelieu listened to the story with an aspect of pitying compassion, and feigned to believe the repeated assertions of Chalais that he had always hated the foul plot and had resolved to denounce it. His apparent belief, and gentle deprecation, with the tears he plentifully shed on this occasion, quite reassured the indiscreet young cavalier, who hastened from Fleury back to Fontainebleau, hoping to prevent the departure of Monsieur's band of bravoes. Valencey meantime, after receiving the cordial thanks of the Cardinal, was directed by him to seek instant audience of the King and Queen-mother, and to unfold the plot. It was between eleven and midnight when Valencey reached Fontainebleau; but access was readily obtained to their Majesties by the pass furnished by Richelieu. Marie's consternation was intense; while Louis summoned du Hallier and M. de Vitry, and commanded them to repair to Fleury, taking thirty archers and thirty horse soldiers to guard the Cardinal, whose meekness in

remaining at his house after being warned of his peril deeply affected their Majesties.[19] This detachment met Richelieu at dawn on his way to Fontainebleau. The Duke's assassins had arrived during the night at Fleury, knocked up the household as had been arranged, with every aggravation of insolence and violence. The doors of the mansion, however, to their surprise flew open on their mandate. The retainers of Richelieu bowed obsequiously before the *avant coureurs* of so august a person as Monseigneur; while the Cardinal in person expressed his sense of the honour done him, "so much so, that he placed the château at the command of the leader of the company, and intended himself to set out and escort his royal highness to Fleury." While Monsieur's envoys were meditating on the purport of these words, the clever Cardinal gave them the slip, and stepping into his coach, which he had caused to be prepared, he set out for Fontainebleau. Gaston was just rising when Richelieu arrived; the Cardinal proceeded straight to the apartment of the young prince, and mildly reproached him for not giving him warning of the honour he intended to confer by his visit, ending by placing Fleury at his command. Taking Monsieur's shirt from the trembling hands of M. de Chalais, the Cardinal courteously handed it to the astonished young prince and took his leave.[20] The incident was then suffered to drop. Queen Anne and Monsieur were filled with amazement at the failure of their enterprise, not knowing from what quarter the Cardinal had

obtained his information. Chalais kept his own counsel, until the truth was forced from him a few weeks later by the address of Madame de Chevreuse. The intrigue, however, received only a check from the unexpected *dénouement* at Fleury. The design of the Cardinal's assassination was still the topic of the correspondence of the conspirators, amongst whom M. de Chalais, despite of his recent treachery, became the recognised organ of approach to the ear of the Duke of Orleans.[21]

Richelieu, however, held a clue. Had Chalais promptly avowed his breach of faith the subtle intriguers might have been less confident and more cautious. The first step in the counterplot was skilful; his Eminence overwhelmed Chalais with attentions, and, as an eminent mark of confidence, announced his intention to take up his abode at the house of the latter at Maison Rouge when the court removed to Blois. He then blandly requested as a personal favour from the King, that Madame de Chevreuse might return to court, as he desired to merit the favour and approbation of Queen Anne. M. de Vendôme, at the intercession of the Cardinal, was reassured, and bidden by his Majesty to bring back his brother and join the court at Blois, when their grievances should be redressed. M. de Soissons received an unexpected communication from M. le Cardinal, conveying the information that his Majesty confided to him the peace of the capital during his absence in the provinces, and directing the Count on no pretext to quit Paris.[22]

As soon as the Cardinal was settled at Maison Rouge, he summoned his friend the formidable Capuchin Père Joseph, and relating all that had recently occurred, asked for aid to thread the labyrinth.[23] "It is at Brussels that we must search out the intrigue; give me a sure man, and I will answer for the result!" exclaimed Père Joseph. The Cardinal acquiesced; selecting the young Count de Rochefort, one of his pages, and a Rohan by birth, he sent him to Père Joseph, with orders to obey the Capuchin in all matters. Rochefort was conducted to the Capuchin monastery, Rue St. Honoré, and was there taught to imitate the deportment and the rule of the fathers. When the travesty was perfect, Père Joseph sent him on foot to Brussels, wearing the habit of a Capuchin monk, and furnished with a letter to the superior of the Order in Brussels, who had promised further introductions. Rochefort was the cousin of Madame de Chevreuse; he was gifted with the energy and spirit of his race. By the assumption of sanctity, and by the secret influence of Richelieu, the young Capuchin soon procured an introduction to Marquis de Lainez. To this nobleman he pretended to confide his discontent with his calling, and his hatred of France, adding that his desire would be to enter a monastery in Spain. So cleverly did he at length insinuate himself into the confidence of Lainez that the latter undertook to procure him permission to drink the mineral waters at Forges, which Rochefort stated was a boon necessary for his health, though unattainable, on

account of the dislike with which he was regarded by the Provincial of the Order in France. The pass was obtained at the request of the Archduke, and Rochefort prepared to return to France, triumphant in the possession of a packet of papers, which Lainez, as he anticipated, had affectionately requested him to convey thither, and deliver to a personage who would await him at Forges. A courier from the Cardinal met Rochefort half way between Brussels and Forges, to whom he delivered the important packet. Richelieu had copies made on the spot of the contents of the packet, which was then resealed and given again to Rochefort. The latter continued his journey, and arriving at Forges found a person who gave the name and address of La Pierre, advocate, Rue Perdue, Place Maubert, Paris, who, exhibiting a letter from Lainez, demanded the papers. This person was followed by the Cardinal's spies to Paris, and was traced with his papers to the house of the Prince de Chalais. On his return home, an agent of police arrested La Pierre under pretext of robbery; his person was then searched, and the packet being missing, was at once known to have been left in the possession of M. de Chalais. The copied papers seized were then examined by the Cardinal, who found, amongst other documents, a long letter without signature, addressed to Chalais, in which not only was his own assassination spoken of as *un fait accompli*, but the writer went on to discuss casualties which might attend the death or deposition, "of the most august

person of the realm." [24] This event accomplished, the marriage of Anne of Austria with King Gaston was assumed as a future fact which had received her Majesty's own assent, and that of the Queen-mother, and which, when communicated to Philip IV., King of Spain, had also obtained his Catholic Majesty's approbation. Mention was made also of a letter written by Anne to her brother, in which she had intimated her consent to and approbation of all the designs of the conspirators, and moreover, that she had despatched a special courier to Madrid, to convey this epistle to King Philip. Furnished with such a detail of this " infernal project," Richelieu triumphed—for the most august heads of France must incline reverently before the power won by this knowledge. The letters written by Chalais in return were intercepted, and by these the Cardinal came by the further information, that the Spanish cabinet agreed to the design of the conspirators, but declined to take a part in the plot until some notable success had been attained. The intercepted correspondence was at once laid before the King by his minister. With a cry of anguish, the unhappy King read, and bewailed the cruel destiny which arrayed against him his nearest kinsmen. He insisted, nevertheless, on the immediate arrest of all concerned in the plot. Richelieu combated this desire; he wished to envelop the plotters and to allow them no avenue of escape, before the final blow was struck. Towards his wife the bitterest resentment rankled in the heart of Louis, never

more to be effaced. The apologists of Anne of Austria aver that the Cardinal enveloped her in this conspiracy, which in reality was aimed only at his own overthrow, on purpose to neutralise her power and to render the criminal wife the helpless foe. They aver that no one but the King and Richelieu saw the letter addressed to Chalais, which was afterwards said to be destroyed; and they deny that Anne ever wrote to her brother in approval of the plot as directed against the person and the throne of Louis XIII.[25] It is not, however, denied that Anne consented to espouse Gaston d'Orléans and was looking forward to the death of her husband as a fact of speedy accomplishment. The archives of Simancas furnish proof positive of her assent and of her knowledge of the negotiation then proceeding for her future union with M. d'Orléans. Moreover, the arrests and sentences which by and by followed, smiting some of the noblest princes of the land, must have moved the nation with strong indignation, if inflicted to vindicate a cruel fraud; at the instigation, likewise, of a minister new to the people, and whose power was not then cemented by public confidence or awe.

On the 6th of June the court removed to Blois, the Cardinal still remaining at Maison Rouge. On the 12th the Duke de Vendôme and his brother the Grand Prior arrived, and on the night of the 14th of the same month the princes were both arrested in their beds by Du Hallier, captain of the body-guard, and committed close prisoners to the

castle of Amboise. The reason assigned by his Majesty for the arrest of his illegitimate brothers was, that they excited the people to hatred of his government, and to contempt of his person, besides traitorously assuming an attitude hostile to M. de Richelieu.[26] Meantime, Madame de Chevreuse returned to France, and joined her royal mistress at Blois, resuming her empire over the mind of the Queen, and more than her past influence with M. de Chalais. Monsieur also arrived at Blois, fearing not to stand over the mine he was preparing to explode. Here the expediency of gaining over some of the principal governors of provinces, and important frontier towns, was suggested to Monsieur by Bois d'Annemets and Chalais. A certain Abbé d'Aubasine presented himself at Blois to pay his respects to the King, and happening to state in confidence to Chalais that the Duc d'Epernon, Governor of the Angoumois and of the Pays des Trois Evêchés, was disaffected and a partisan of Monsieur, it was determined that his royal highness should write to the Duke and make certain propositions. Chalais had some difficulty in persuading the Duke to this step, as Monsieur always showed an intense aversion to attach his signature to any document. In this instance he suffered himself to be overpersuaded, and whilst he was engaged in the concoction of the epistle, M. de Marcheville suddenly entered the apartment. Monsieur being startled in the very act of doing violence to his inclination, turned pale, and seizing the paper, stuffed it into

the pocket of his *haut de chausses*. This Marcheville, though one of the *mignons*, had carefully avoided giving countenance to the designs of the malcontents, and feigned to be ignorant that his royal master had secrets.[27] The sudden resignation of M. de Marcheville on the following day, and leave of absence being solicited by another of the duke's chamberlains, M. d'Audilly, might have warned Gaston and his friends that prudence and caution were advisable. Chalais, however, continued to repair in the dead of the night to the chamber of Monsieur, and there amongst other evil counsels he induced the infatuated Prince to follow up his letter to the Duc d'Epernon by another to M. de la Valette, the duke's son and his lieutenant at Metz, on whom Gaston was told that he had claims, as Madame de la Valette was the illegitimate daughter of Henri Quatre. The Duc d'Epernon, grateful perhaps for the clemency shown by Louis after the troubles excited by the flight of Marie de' Medici from Blois, sent Monsieur's letter straight to the King. The young Marquis de la Valette, a few days later, also replied through M. de Louvigny, " that he was the humble servant of Monsieur, and would be happy to serve him; nevertheless, in an affair of such importance as to deliver up to his royal highness his Majesty's fortress of Metz, he must first consult his father and chief, Monsieur le Duc d'Epernon." [28] Richelieu, at this juncture, having secured his proofs of the treasonable negotiations pending, and having skilfully assembled his foes at Blois, presented

himself before the King and denounced the traitors. He also informed his Majesty that the Count de Soissons had insolently prepared measures to accomplish the abduction of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, who was living in Paris at the Hôtel Guise; and that M. d'Orléans and Queen Anne were privy to the intended outrage. Louis became violently agitated; but after poring some time over the documents submitted by his minister, he ordered the latter to proceed with the utmost rigour to unmask the traitors, and to confound their devices, pledging his royal word to be guided by the counsels of his Eminence. Richelieu then advised his master to proceed forthwith to the city of Nantes—a visit already jotted down in the royal programme of travel before the return of Louis to the capital. He next despatched Rochefort to Paris, the bearer of an order commanding Madame de Guise and her daughter Mademoiselle de Montpensier, to give his Majesty rendezvous at Nantes—thus defeating any enterprise contemplated by the Count de Soissons. Monsieur and his friends now commenced to feel the prickings of distrust; private warnings harassed them, in which it was reported that Goulas, the Duke's secretary, and MM. de Marcheville and d'Andilly had been observed stealthily creeping from the abode of M. le Cardinal. Moreover, their friends in Brussels seemed to lose heart at the enterprise; while the Marquis de Mirabel maintained an ominous silence respecting Richelieu, and mentioned even the word "submission." The Queen likewise

was observed to weep in secret, and little intercourse existed between the Queen-mother and Anne; while the King studiously avoided, as far as possible, any acknowledgment of the fact that the partner of his throne inhabited Blois. A further augury of coming evil was descried in the visit paid by the Prince de Condé to the Cardinal at Limours—an honour never before conferred.

The court, meantime, commenced its progress, and made temporary sojourn at Tours, Saumur, and Amiens. At Saumur a quarrel happened between M. de Louvigny and the Count de Candale. Chalais, who was of the party, took the side of Candale; when M. de Louvigny, beside himself with rage, reproached Chalais with his treasonable intelligence in the presence of the Duc d'Elbœuf. Louvigny having thus committed himself, sought audience of the King on the morrow, and confessed the overture which he had made to M. d'Epernon and his son, on behalf of Monsieur. Louis listened coldly; dismissed Louvigny, but commanded his arrest before the lapse of three hours. Under the searching scrutiny of Richelieu, Louvigny confirmed his previous confession, and owned to be privy to the plot for the assassination of his Eminence; moreover adding that Chalais meditated the death of the King, which he intended to accomplish when, as master of the wardrobe, he adjusted his Majesty's ruff, by scratching him slightly on the neck with a poisoned pin. A warrant thereupon was at once despatched for the arrest of M. de Chalais, who was seized and

carried to Nantes, as he was stepping on board the barge in which Monsieur was travelling, at a place just below Amiens. The Cardinal now held every clue to the projects of his enemies. Chalais lay in prison; Madame de Chevreuse and her royal mistress trembled as the dark tribulation approached; Marie de' Medici, who had been accused in some of the papers intercepted of approving the marriage of the supposed widow of Louis XIII. with Monsieur, and anxious to vindicate herself in the opinion of her son, was nervously complaisant; Mademoiselle de Montpensier, smitten with awe at finding herself involved in a state plot, was humble and obedient; d'Ornano and the two brothers de Vendôme lay in prison; Condé, that irascible and touchy personage, so haughtily patronising, had been compelled, lest he should be suspected of collusion in the plot, to seek the good will of his Eminence at Limours, and even to sooth any probable irritation by speaking of an alliance as possible between the heir of the Condés and *la petite* Clémence de Maillé Brezé, niece of Richelieu.[29] As for Monsieur, it was the policy of Richelieu to unmask and to humble him, but to cast him prostrate at the royal feet eventually on easy terms. Expiation by death, by torture, by banishment, by humiliations unparalleled, was nevertheless to be exacted from the miserable tools and dupes of his royal highness's ambition and duplicity. Above all, Anne of Austria was for evermore to be reduced to a position of abject dependence on the King and his minister, and

discredited to a degree that her favour or disfavour became alike indifferent; while the fact that her Majesty was the eldest daughter of Spain, then considered to be the most potent monarchy of the universe, increased rather than diminished the triumph of the Cardinal. Monsieur, therefore, during the journey between Tours and Nantes, was scolded, cajoled, caressed and frightened. He was mysteriously exhorted, both by the Cardinal and the Queen-mother, to be on his guard; that the gentlemen of his household were in bad odour with the King; and that some political catastrophe was at hand. M. de Coigneux, who though in favour with his royal highness had not participated in the cabal, was chosen by Louis as his medium of communication with his brother, while the Cardinal prepared more potent seduction for the weak brain of Monsieur from the lips of his trusty Capuchin, Père Joseph, who was summoned to Nantes by express.

A commission, composed of the new Lord Keeper Marillac, of the presidents Cussé and de Bry, and of the King's private secretary Beauclerc, of Fouquet, Machault, and de Criqueville, Masters of Requests, and of six members of the Parliament of Bretagne, was empowered to try the unhappy Chalais, and to investigate the alleged plot to its most secret ramifications.[30] Monsieur, though outwardly free, was warned by the Queen-mother not to venture without the city, under pain of arrest. Madame de Chevreuse, likewise, perceived herself to be under *surveillance;*

while the young Queen cowered under the displeasure of her lord, and while weeping over her forlorn condition, was repeatedly heard to utter the undignified wail, " that M. le Cardinal wanted to send her back to Spain, in order to marry the King to *la veuve Combalet.*" Richelieu, meantime, proceeded to unravel the plot, with the utmost parade of moderation and attention to the forms of ancient procedure. It was the first essay of the power of the minister, and a foretaste of the judicial arraignments by special commission which eventually made every disloyal heart quake. Certain members of the commission were appointed to interrogate the Duke of Orleans. Monsieur was previously admonished to make candid and ample revelations, while Père Joseph " assured Monsieur that if he confessed everything demanded from him he should receive a pardon and even a recompense." Letters were first shown to the young Prince from the envoys of France at certain small German courts, and also one from the ambassador in Vienna, warning the King that a conspiracy existed, and that its details were not unknown to Monsieur, to her Majesty the Queen consort, and to certain personages mentioned; its objects being first to assassinate the Cardinal de Richelieu, and subsequently to dethrone the King for incapacity, mental and physical, and to marry Queen Anne to the Duke of Orleans. The plot was to be supported by the influence of the Duke of Buckingham over the English cabinet. Monsieur shuddered

at his peril, and clung to the protection of Richelieu as his refuge in the terrible investigations pending. The morning of the 11th of August, therefore, found Monsieur ready and fluent; he made and signed a declaration, of which the following is an abstract:—1stly: That it was true M. le Comte de Soissons was in his confidence, and diligently reported to him affairs brought before the privy council; 2ndly: That Chalais was employed as their amanuensis and messenger; that it was true the latter had advised him to slay M. le Cardinal, to seize the fortress of Havre, and to demand for M. de Cœuvres the government of Pont de l'Arche, which strong fort they coveted in order to protect their flight from Paris to Havre; that Chalais had counselled him to propitiate and to enter into secret relations with the Huguenot chieftains; that the said Chalais had instructed and recommended one Louvigny to journey to Metz to invite and gain over the Marquis de la Valette to his (Monsieur's) interests; 3rdly: That M. de Chalais had told, and sworn to him (Monsieur) that the King had encamped 10,000 men in the vicinity of Nantes, in order, as Chalais concluded, to compel him to retire to Nancy or to Brussels." [31] This cowardly avowal formed the nucleus of the charge of treason against M. de Chalais. The letters of the Duchess de Chevreuse,[32] of the Duke d'Epernon and of M. de la Valette were given in as evidence; also certain letters which had been intercepted, from Joannés, valet to M. de Chalais, addressed to Martin, his

brother. Lastly: Richelieu and le Père Joseph produced their charge against Monsieur, Queen Anne, and Madame de Chevreuse, by showing copies of the letter brought into France by M. de Rochefort, addressed to Chalais, with the replies returned by that miserable young cavalier. On the same day, the 11th of August, the Commissioners met in the refectory of the monastery of the Franciscans at Nantes, and proceeded to the discharge of their preliminary duties, previous to commanding the presence of the criminal before their tribunal. Chalais during this interval had remained in a condition of pitiable despair. Madame de Chevreuse alone, with noble generosity, sought to soothe his trouble, and addressed to the poor captive a comforting note, which she caused to be sewed within the plait of a starched ruff sent to Chalais, by his request, to wear when he appeared before his judges. Such was the panic occasioned by the sudden arrests and the mysteriousness of the hidden causes of inquiry, that the agent employed by Madame de Chevreuse proved a traitor, and carried her note to the Cardinal, who caused the writing to be copied and produced it on the following day against the Duchess.

It was determined by the High Court to issue orders of arrest against the Duchess de Chevreuse, the Count de Soissons, the Duc d'Epernon, and his son, l'Abbé Aubasine, M. de Louvigny, and certain *mignons* of Monsieur—to wit, MM. de Bois d'Annemets, Puylaurens, St. Géry, Marsillac, le Meilleraye and de Mouay—nevertheless, that

such warrants should first be authenticated by the sign-manual of the King.[33] Triumphant in the possession of these documents,[34] Richelieu laid them before the King at a council specially summoned on the morrow. Louis desired to hear some of the witnesses; the council was therefore adjourned till after dinner of the same day. Invitations were issued to the Presidents Cussé and de Bry to attend; and before this assemblage Louis resolved, by the advice of his minister, to summon Queen Anne and Madame de Chevreuse. The Duke de Bellegarde, Louvigny, the Duke d'Elbœuf, le Père Joseph, the Count de Rochefort and the Marquis d'Effiat were first heard. The intercepted correspondence was read over by the secretary Beauclerc, in the presence of his Majesty, who reclined in a *fauteuil*, with a gloomy scowl upon his countenance. Marie de' Medici presently entered, and seated herself by Richelieu; in so doing her Majesty whispered a word in his ear, which his Eminence noticed by a slight inclination of the head. At the command of the King the folding doors opposite were opened, and Anne of Austria appeared on the threshold, unattended, save by an usher and by one half-scared lady. Anne dismissed her attendant, and then advanced and took a seat at the bottom of the table indicated by the Cardinal, as the King neither rose nor took the smallest notice of her presence. The interrogatory which followed unfortunately never transpired: that it was severe and uncompromising, the tears shed by the Queen and its

after effect on her health and temper testify. Anne seems steadily to have denied the allegations against her ; unfortunately, however, her Majesty had previously given peremptory contradiction to undoubted facts well known to her royal husband and to his minister, from terror at the consequences of her indiscretion. The letter written by Madame de Chevreuse to Chalais, and placed in the Queen's hands, must have taxed her fortitude, for there now remains little doubt that Anne had tampered in the schemes of these foolish plotters to a degree which for ever bereft her of the regard of her husband, who emphatically affirmed his belief in her culpability. When questioned concerning her speculations on the King's intended deposition, and her design to espouse Monsieur, Anne replied, " that she should have gained thereby too small a stake to render it even probable that she had blackened her conscience by the imagination of such a crime ! " [35] " Her Majesty thereupon, with tears, bitterly upbraided the Queen-mother for the persecutions and indignities heaped upon her since her arrival in France." No minute of this council was preserved. Anne's reply, relative to M. d'Orléans, alone, of all her answers to the various charges, was suffered to transpire.

When the Queen retired, Madame de Chevreuse was summoned before the council. The Duchess entered, sustained by a consciousness of wit, beauty, and of aptness of speech and retort. She was subjected by the King himself to a long and

humiliating interrogatory; dismissed and placed under the *surveillance* of the captain of the body-guard. M. de Louvigny was next introduced, to make further revelations relative to the malignity of the treason of M. de Chalais. The latter, besides his avowed intent to kill Richelieu, and to depose the King, was accused of regicidal designs by de Louvigny, who, a few weeks previously, was considered to be the intimate friend of the unhappy prisoner. Chalais, who was master of the wardrobe, meditated the murder of the King, according to the statement of Louvigny, by steeping the shirts worn by his Majesty in a subtle poison; intending to accelerate the action of the venom by scratching the King on the nape of the neck with a poisoned pin, while adjusting his ruff. "This Chalais," says the Abbé d'Artigny,[36] "was of a temper so malicious and spiteful, that when he was attiring his Majesty he made faces behind the King's back; also, when in prison, he could not hold himself from speaking evil things of the King, and even to offend him deeply by letters which he presumed to write. Louis XIII. could not refrain, therefore, from one day exclaiming, 'This man has truly a malignant and churlish temper!'"

On the 18th of August, Chalais was led before his judges, after having been subjected to three searching interrogatories. His condemnation was unanimously voted, the prisoner appealing against his sentence, and denying the charges alleged. The decree condemned Chalais to decapitation, after suffering the torture of *les brodequins*,

and to the pains of degradation and the confiscation of his estates. No sooner was the unfortunate man conducted back to his prison, than he was again beset by the emissaries of Richelieu, seeking, by any promises, to extort confession; and, especially, to wring from the unwilling lips of the prisoner full details respecting the *liaison* existing between Anne of Austria and her brother-in-law. For long Chalais resolutely insisted on the innocence of the Queen, stating although it was true that for a period of seventeen days the death of the King and his minister had been discussed—yet that after the arrest of MM. de Vendôme, and after the failure of the conspiracy to kill Richelieu at Fleury, he had tampered with the conspirators at the command of the minister only to discover their progress and designs. Vanquished at length by the subtle Père Joseph,[37] Chalais made other avowals: he stated that Queen Anne, Monsieur, and Madame de Chevreuse, were implicated in the conspiracy; that the Queen-mother herself was so far committed, that she had acknowledged if the King died a wise policy would direct the acceptance by Monsieur of the hand of his brother's richly dowered widow, on assuming the crown of France; that the death of the Cardinal de Richelieu had been decided upon, to be accomplished as opportunity occurred; that it was a fact that the Queen had communicated the details of the conspiracy to her kindred in Spain, and had received the approbation of Philip IV. her brother. Transported with his success, the wily

Capuchin entered his patron's presence, and tendered the admissions which placed the highest personages of the realm at the mercy of the Cardinal. Richelieu, it is said, repaired privately the same night to the dungeon of the prisoner, and promised him life and ultimate pardon, provided that he would repeat his confession in the hearing of his guards, or reveal every incident in a private interview with the King.

The Duke of Orleans, during these proceedings, maintained a most undignified attitude ; avoided by the courtiers—uncertain whether he would long be tolerated by the King ; clinging to the wily Capuchin Joseph ; and creeping warily to the apartments of the Queen-mother, who scarcely dared speak to her son, to learn the attitude of affairs. The young cavaliers of his suite fled from Nantes. Puylaurens and Bois d'Annemets alone mustered courage to face the storm. Le Coigneux, meantime, ascertained that Monsieur could free himself from the effects of his misconduct only by consenting to immediate marriage with Mademoiselle de Montpensier. The Duke, thereupon, ventured to propose stipulations, one of which was the pardon of M. de Chalais, but was met by the crushing intimation that the criminal had made confession, and had deeply implicated both Monsieur and Queen Anne, and therefore that the Duke must accept with gratitude the will of the King, or take the consequences. Monsieur then alleged certain reasons, which would prevent his immediate espousals ; nevertheless, on the

morrow he suddenly visited Marie de' Medici and assented to his marriage, provided that the Marshal d'Ornano and Chalais were liberated and that certain pecuniary concessions [38] were granted —all which negotiations he committed to her care and to that of M. le Coigneux. The Duke's submission was well timed ; the irritated spirit of Louis XIII. brooked not trifling, and his Majesty conceived that his honour demanded that the immediate union of his brother to Marie de Montpensier should stifle and refute the reports current respecting Monsieur's *liaison* with Anne of Austria. Certain reforms were likewise commenced in the household of the Duke, on the authority of the King : three of his chamberlains were summarily dismissed, and the Duc de Bellegarde was placed at the head of his establishment.[39] Louis, meanwhile, offered to his brother oblivion of the past on condition of his marriage with Marie de Montpensier.[40] Upon that event, his Majesty proposed to put Monsieur into possession of his appanage, the duchies de Chartres and d'Orléans and the county of Blois ; to settle upon him lands to the amount of 100,000 livres annually ; with a nett revenue of 760,000 livres for the expenses of his household.[41] Le Père Joseph undertook to render Monsieur satisfied with this munificent offer ; a few arguments, a little deprecation, and the transparent assurance "that after Monsieur's reconciliation with the King he would be in a better condition to intercede for the prisoner and the rest of the accused," prevailed.

The ceremony of the affiancing was performed August 20th, in the apartment of the Queen-mother by the Cardinal de Richelieu, and the pair were married at midnight. The ceremony was performed with the pomp befitting the occasion and the publicity which King Louis desired. The marriage contract was signed at five p.m. on a table standing on a platform of state. The King sat under a canopy, supported by the Queen-mother; opposite sat Queen Anne, with an aspect pale and discomposed, having on her right the young bride. At the table stood Richelieu, at the head of a numerous assemblage of bishops. The apartment was filled with a brilliant court, including Bellegarde, d'Elbœuf, Bassompierre, Marsillac, the Duchesses de Rohan, d'Halluin, de Guise, de Bellegarde and others. The King had commanded that no order of precedence should be observed, and that the ladies should take place in the vicinity of the *haut dais*, as they arrived. A scramble for precedence, nevertheless, occurred between the Duchesses d'Halluin and de Rohan—the latter lady being the strong-minded and resolute daughter of the Duke de Sully—during which the illustrious ladies so far forgot decorum as to pinch each other in their efforts not to lose the *terrain*, that each declared the other wished to usurp.[42] "The royal pair were affianced, and at midnight espoused. Never was there before seen so sad a ceremony. Madame was dressed in a robe of white satin, adorned with her own superb pearls and with those belonging to the Queen.

We had neither violins, nor music of any kind. Monsieur had not even a new habit. Furniture was borrowed to decorate the bridal chamber. Few private persons have been married with such scanty pomp. The King came to the *coucher* of Monsieur and handed him his shirt, and the Queen-mother was present at the toilette of Madame. When every one had retired a laughable incident occurred. A little lap-dog was accidentally shut up in the chamber of the newly-married pair, which obliged Madame de Guise, who occupied an adjacent apartment, to rise and hunt the miserable animal, whose yelps added to the ridicule of this fine marriage." [43]

The marriage concluded,[44] Monsieur ventured to insist on the hopes inspired by M. le Cardinal, that mercy might be shown to the accused. Chalais also loudly claimed the immunity so perfidiously promised by the Cardinal on condition of his confession. The sentence pronounced on the unfortunate young man was, nevertheless, confirmed by the King, who mitigated only the rigour of the penalty by forbidding that torture should be employed before execution. His Majesty was pleased, moreover, to annul the attainder of that branch of the house of Talleyrand from which Chalais sprang.[45] The sentence was appointed to be carried out three days after the celebration of Monsieur's marriage; meantime, the fate of the minor delinquents was pronounced. Madame de Chevreuse received sentence of banishment from court, and was conducted by

an exempt of the royal guards to her husband's castle of Dampierre, where she was consigned to strict *surveillance*. The King for some days insisted on her imprisonment in the Bastille, and was deterred only from this severity by the intercession of Richelieu, who was a great admirer of the spirited Duchess, and by the entreaties of M. de Chevreuse, who undertook to answer for her submission. "The Duchess was transported with fury," writes Richelieu; "she went so far as to assert that we knew her not when we concluded that she had only wit, coquetry, and vanity; nevertheless, she would soon show us that she was good for something else, for there was nothing that she would not suffer to be avenged, and no indignity to which she would not joyfully submit to compass such."[46] Before her departure for Dampierre the Duchess had petitioned to be allowed to retire to England, where her beauty and vivacity had rendered her popular.[47] Madame de Chevreuse, however, who hated the melancholy solitudes of Dampierre, continued to agitate so effectually that, after an interval of six months, she obtained permission to visit her husband's kindred of Lorraine, at Nancy. The Count de Soissons, advised of the accusations preferred against him, propitiated the wrath of his royal master by resigning his post as governor of Paris, and by quitting the realm, a self-condemned exile: the warrant of arrest was thereupon cancelled. The post of governor of Bretagne was taken from the Duc de Vendôme, who continued for some

time a captive at Vincennes. Condé also bowed before the policy of the Cardinal, and did not venture to present himself for a long period at court for his supposed connivance in the plot at Fleury. Sundry minor awards were allotted to the inferior agents of the conspiracy ; fines, imprisonments, and banishments warned the *valetaille* of the great lords that the formidable ruler of France took cognizance also of their derelictions, as well as of the more heinous offences of their masters.

The most illustrious offender still remained to be visited with a public manifestation of royal wrath. The condition of the young Queen was pitiable. The King refused to hold communication with her, and she was forbidden to see the Duchess de Chevreuse or to converse with M. d'Orléans. Marie de' Medici, sheltered only by Richelieu from the indignation of her son for her semi-adherence to the intrigues under investigation, dared not afford even a semblance of protection or countenance to the Queen. On the 27th of August an order was issued, signed by Louis and countersigned by his minister, forbidding *entrée* to the Queen's saloons and cabinets to the noblemen and gentlemen in waiting, or to the courtiers of the Louvre, unless they paid their respects to her Majesty in the King's presence, and entered her apartments and departed therefrom in his suite. A restriction more humiliating, and subversive of the courtly splendours and deference enjoyed by her predecessors queens of France, could not have been inflicted. Anne

likewise received the imperious commands of her royal husband never to grant a private audience without first advertising Queen Marie or the Cardinal, and naming the personage whom she was about to receive and the object of the interview.[48] Correspondence with Madame de Chevreuse was strictly forbidden, as also with Madame de la Valette. The severity of this punishment, however, did not subdue the proud heart of the Queen. Neglected by her husband, she persistently turned for sympathy towards her own kindred of Spain, whose counsels aggravated her position; for the King, her brother, never effectually interfered to ameliorate her position, or to intercede in her behalf.

The Duke of Orleans continued to make unceasing efforts to procure a commutation of the sentence pronounced on Chalais, but to no purpose. Early on the morning following his brother's marriage, the King quitted Nantes for Paris, being preceded by the Queens, Anne and Marie. It was thought that his Majesty's sudden journey was to avoid further solicitations on the part of Monsieur. The Duke, nevertheless, continued his intercession, and implored the Cardinal to stay the execution until he could rejoin the King his brother. His Eminence replied, "that he had no power to grant the request of his Royal Highness." The same answer Richelieu returned to the mother[49] of the unfortunate Chalais, who on her knees implored mercy for her misguided son, on the plea that Chalais had previously

saved the Cardinal's life, by confessing the plot to assassinate him at his château de Fleury. It must, nevertheless, be owned that Louis acted with clemency towards the guilty contrivers of a plot so aggravated; for to assert that such existed only in the scheming imagination of the Cardinal de Richelieu, is utterly to disregard the evidence which has descended to these days. That many documents were suppressed, as damaging to the honour of the crown and to the reputation of Queen Anne, is not surprising; neither can it excite wonder that King Louis commanded that no minutes of the privy council before which his Queen was arraigned should be preserved and registered. "She wished for my death, and coveted another husband during my lifetime!" was often the bitter remark of Louis XIII. when any one pleaded the cause of the Queen; and such remained his Majesty's settled conviction on his death-bed. The Duke of Orleans, the Count de Soissons, the Duke d'Epernon and M. de la Valette, the Duchess de Chevreuse and her potent kindred of Rohan, were not likely to have accepted the odium of such a conspiracy without protest if, in fact, the whole affair had been a device trumped up by Richelieu to rivet his power. Philip IV. of Spain remained silent, and never denied, through his ambassador or otherwise, the reception of the letter stated to have been written by the Queen. The Archduchess-Infanta Isabel, moreover, never repudiated the assertion that the intrigue was discussed and matured in Brussels,

her own capital; which so good and conscientious a princess would have done if possible in aid of her niece Queen Anne, oppressed under so grave a charge of domestic and state treason. The fact, however, which seems amply to prove the truth of the conspiracy and of the charges respecting the Queen is, that three years later, Anne, of her own accord, proposed a renewed discussion of the policy of her alliance with M. d'Orléans, after the then expected death of Louis XIII. The health of the King was precarious, and the result of his repeated attacks of illness so uncertain under the rude medical treatment of the day, that the expectation of his death repeatedly acted as a snare to lure the malcontents to premature revelation of their designs.

M. de Chalais suffered on the twenty-sixth day of August.[50] Before his execution he made recantation of all his avowals, and adhered only to the statement "that for seventeen days only, before his interview with M. le Cardinal at Fleury, he had meditated the death of the Cardinal and the deposition of Louis XIII." The interference of his friends, however, served to prolong his agony. In the hope that the prayers of M. d'Orléans might eventually prevail, and therefore that the gain of a few days might be life to Chalais, they bribed and carried off the public executioner of Nantes. The morning appointed for the execution dawned, and no headsman appeared. By order of the Cardinal, the execution was delayed until six in the evening, when two prisoners under condemnation

of death taken from the common jail undertook to perform the task, on receiving a pardon for their services. These unskilful executioners mangled the poor prisoner in the most shocking manner, and succeeded in despatching him only after thirty-five strokes of the axe.[51] The body of the unfortunate Chalais was given to his mother, who caused it to be interred before the high altar of the Church of the Franciscans of Nantes.

When all was over, M. de Louvigny, the original denouncer of Chalais, was arrested and committed to close prison at the suit of Monsieur, for having accused the latter falsely, maliciously, and disloyally; attributing to the brother of the King high crimes which had no foundation, and which, for the honour of the crown, needed to be atoned for and retracted. Having pardoned Monsieur for his late and principal share in the conspiracy for which Chalais suffered, Louis XIII. and his minister required justification for their clemency, and a plausible statement which might clear the reputation of the heir-presumptive of France.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

[1] Joseph Leclerc de Tremblay, Capucin.

[2] Anne had a great aversion to roses, and fainted on inhaling their perfume.

[3] The Count de Soissons and the Duke de Bellegarde inscribed themselves of the faction of Monsieur. The princes of Vendôme were the sons of Henri Quatre by Gabrielle d'Estrées.

[4] Consort of Charles VIII., and subsequently of Louis XII., by whom the queen had two daughters—Claude, heiress of Bretagne, who

married Francis I., King of France; and Renée, married to Duke Ercole I., of Ferrara.

[5] Mém. de Motteville, t. i. p. 27.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Henri de Talleyrand-Périgord, Prince de Chalais, grandson of the famous Marshal Blaise de Montluc. He was master of the wardrobe to the King, and one of the lords in waiting on Monsieur. Chalais had married Jeanne de Castille, daughter of the financier Jeannin de Castille, and widow of the Count de Chancy. "Madame de Chalais est une belle personne. Elle s'aime tellement qu'elle s'évanouit si elle vient seulement à souhaiter quelque chose qu'elle ne puisse avoir."

[8] Mém. d'un Favori de Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans. M. de Bois d'Annemets was the favourite, and the writer of the memoirs; which therefore possess the value of having been written by an eye-witness of the events which they record.

[9] Mém. d'un Favori.—Vie du Père Joseph, Capucin nommé au cardinalat, contenant l'Histoire Anecdote du Cardinal de Richelieu. A. St. Jean de Maurienne, chez Gaspard Butler. 1704.

[10] "Il luy arriva un accident digne de remarque, ayant été saisy, en se promenant dans le jardin du Cardinal, d'un tremblement si furieux dans une jambe et une cuisse, qu'il pensa tomber de son haut."—Mém. d'un Favori.—Archives Curieuses, t. 3.

[11] MS. Bibl. Imp. Beth. 9162, fol. 48.

[12] "Madame d'Ornano fut menée par un enseigne des gardes nommé Fouguerolles à Gentilly."—Mém. d'un Favori du Duc d'Orléans.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Bassompierre, Journal de ma Vie, ann. 1626. "Les dames de la cour," writes the gallant Marshal, "étoient fort mêlées dans ces intrigues; les unes en haine de la maison de Guise, qu'elles voyoient agrandir par la prochaine alliance de Monsieur; les autres en haine de Mademoiselle de Montpensier; et les autres pour l'intérêt du mariage de Monsieur."

[15] Journal de ma Vie, Bassompierre.

[16] Alexandre de Vendôme, Prior of St. John's, youngest son of Henri IV. and Gabrielle d'Estrées, Chevalier de Vendôme. "M. le Grand-Prieur professait une inimitié publique contre Richelieu, qu'il accusait de détourner les grâces que le Roi voulait verser sur sa maison; il se vantait d'être le seul Mardochée qui ne fléchissait pas le genou devant ce superbe Aman."

[17] Son of the Duke d'Epernon, and husband of Gabrielle de Balzac-Verneuil, daughter of Henri IV. and Madame de Verneuil.

[18] Bassompierre.—Mém. d'un Favori de M. le Duc d'Orléans.—Mém. Anecdotes, &c., Louis XIII., t. 4.—Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII.

[19] Bassompierre, Journal de ma Vie, ann. 1626. Bassompierre was in waiting at Fontainebleau while the events occurred which he relates.

[20] Mém. de Richelieu.—Bassompierre.—The duke, to conceal his

design, and to account for an early departure from the palace on the morning fixed for the execution of the plot, had organised a hunting expedition. "Monsieur," said Richelieu significantly, on taking leave, "vous ne vous êtes par levé assez matin ; vous ne trouverez plus, la bête au gîte ! "

[21] Chalais promit d'être fidèle à l'avenir ; et leur donnait cette libre reconnoissance de sa faute, qu'il leur faisoit pour marque de sincerité."

[22] Bassompierre ; ibid. Vie du Prince de Chalais, Henri de Talleyrand. Galérie des Personnages Illustres de la cour de France.

[23] Vie du Père Joseph. Mémoires d'un Favori de Monsieur. Archives Curieuses.

[24] Vie du Père Joseph Leclerc de Tremblay.

[25] No apologies which have since been made for Anne of Austria can efface the undoubted fact that Louis XIII. believed her to be guilty ; besides, why was the Queen subjected to persecution and surveillance, if no evidence attested her connivance in the projects of Chalais and other conspirators ?

[26] Relation de tout qui s'est passé à l'émprisonnement de M. le Duc de Vendôme, et M. le Grand-Prieur son Frère, au Château de Blois.—Archives Curieuses, t. 3, 2ème série.

[27] Mém. d'un Favori de M. le Duc d'Orléans.—Archives Curieuses, t. 3.

[28] Relation de tout ce qui s'est passé au Procès de Chalais, 1626. Aubéry, Mém. pour servir à l'Histoire du Cardinal Duc de Richelieu, t. 1. Cologne, 1667.

[29] Nicole du Plessis de Richelieu, sister of the Cardinal de Richelieu, married Urban Marquis de Brezé, subsequently Marshal of France. She had two children, the Princess de Condé, and Armand de Brezé, Duke de Fronsac, co-heir of the Cardinal with his cousin de Pontcourlay, also nephew of the Cardinal. Madame de Brezé died insane. For many years previous to her death she laboured under the delusion that she was made of glass, and shrieked if approached.

[30] Relation de tout ce qui s'est passé au Procès de Chalais.—Aubéry, Mém. pour servir à l'Histoire du Cardinal Duc de Richelieu, t. 1. The proceeding of the Cardinal caused great murmurings. Chalais, it was asserted, ought to have been tried before a Parliament of the realm, and not by a tribunal of judges nominated by his accusers. The act of the minister was stigmatised as "un procédé inique." "Les amis du cardinal répondirent qu'il avait pris ce biais pour ménager l'honneur des familles."

[31] Relation de tout ce qui s'est passé au Procès de Chalais.—Vie du P. Joseph de Tremblay.—Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII.

[32] These letters were found in a casket at Maison Rouge, the country house of Chalais ; they were chiefly love epistles—"Mais il se trouva des choses peu respectueuses pour Louis XIII., que ces amants railloient

sur sa froideur, et sur ses autres défauts naturels."—Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de France, t. 4. Lyon, 1806.

[33] Relation de tout ce qui s'est passé au Procès de M. de Chalais.—Aubéry, Mém. pour servir à l'Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, t. 1.—Mém. d'un Favori de M. le Duc d'Orléans.

[34] "Richelieu assura le Nonce Spada que Chalais avait engagé Gaston à des éclats qui auroient dû devenir très prejudiciables à la paix du royaume, comme de quitter la cour, de se retirer à La Rochelle, et de soulever les Huguenots."—Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de France.

[35] "Le Roy fit venir la Reine au conseil, où il lui reprocha qu'elle avoit conspiré contre sa vie pour avoir un autre mari. La Reine, à qui l'innocence donna des forces, outrée de douleur de cette accusation, lui parla avec fermeté, et lui dit, à ce que j'ai sçu par elle-même, qu'elle auroit trop peu gagné au change pour vouloir se niorcir d'un crime pour un petit intérêt."—Motteville, t. i., p. 28. Madame de Motteville always believes the statements offered to her by Anne of Austria with implicit faith, deeming her Majesty immaculate.

[36] Hist. du Critique et de la Littérature, t. 6, p. 219.

[37] "Le Capucin l'assura, de la part du Cardinal, que s'il avouait tout ce qu'on lui demanderoit, il aurait sa grâce ; et sur la parole d'un religieux dont la réputation, n'avoit pont été attaquée, cet accusé declara plus qu'il ne savoit pour certain des mécontents."—Vie du Père Joseph, Capucin.

[38] Mém. d'un Favori de M. le Duc d'Orléans.

[39] Journal de ma Vie.—Bassompierre, ann. 1626.

[40] Richelieu, it is said, caused Monsieur's horoscope to be drawn before his marriage, to ascertain whether his royal highness, or his posterity, were likely to succeed to the crown of France. The answer of the oracle was "Imperium non gustabit in æternum."

[41] Mém. d'un Favori de M. le Duc d'Orléans.—Vie du Père Joseph.

[42] Bénédiction Nuptiale de Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans, Frère de Louis XIII., et de Marie de Montpensier.—Godefroy, Grand Cérém. de France, t. 2.

[43] Mém. d'un Favori de M. le Duc d'Orléans.

[44] "Chalais apprit ce mariage par le bruit de canon. Il ne dit mot, et attend tristement le sort que cet événement lui annonce. On l'avoit mis en cachot."—Galerie des Personnages Illustres, t. 4.

[45] Relation de tout ce qui s'est passé au Procès de M. de Chalais.—Aubéry, t. 1. One chronicler, an eye-witness of the execution, states that Chalais said on the scaffold: "Ce n'est pas sur l'espérance qu'on m'a donné de ma grâce que j'ai avoué, mais parceque la conviction était entière."

[46] Cousin, Vie de Madame de Chevreuse.—Mém. du Cardinal de Richelieu, t. 3.

[47] "Madame de Chevreuse fit confesser (aux dames Anglaises)

que toutes leurs beautés n'étoient rien au prix de la sienne."—Mém. d'un Favori du M. le Duc d'Orléans.

[48] Mém. de la Rochefoucauld, t. 1.—Dreux du Radier, Vie d'Anne d'Autriche.—Motteville, t. 1.—The latter insists that the "persecutions" which the Queen experienced were not inflicted for any fault of her own, "Mais les premiers marques de l'affection du Cardinal de Richelieu furent les persecutions qu'il lui fit."—Griffet, Hist. de Louis XIII., t. 1.

[49] Françoise de Montluc, daughter of Blaise de Montluc, Marshal of France.

[50] Relation du Procès de Chalais.—Aubéry, Mém. pour servir à l'Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, t. 1. "Il n'a rien dit à tout cela [son arrêt], qu'il résignait son âme à Dieu, et son corps au Roy. Chalais est mort dans la plus grande résolution qui ait jamais été veue. Il a dit dans la chapelle: 'Ne suis-je pas bien malheureux d'avoir desservy le meilleur prince qui soit au monde?'"—Deux Lettres touchant la Mort de M. de Chalais, de Nantes, ce 26 Août 1626, à 7 heures du soir.—Aubéry, t. 1.

[51] "On a tirez deux hommes destinez au gibets des prisons de cette ville, dont l'un à fait l'exécuteur, et l'autre lui à assisté pour lui servir. Mais ça a été avec si peu d'adresse, que, outre les deux premiers coups d'une épée de Suisse, qu'on a achetée sur le champ, il lui en a donné trente-quatre d'une doloire dont se servent les tonneliers; et a été contraint de le retourner de l'autre côté pour l'achever de couper, le patient criant jusqu'au vingtième coup—'Jesus, Maria, et Regina Cœli!'"—Extrait de Deux Lettres touchant la Mort de M. de Chalais. Aubéry, Mém. pour servir à l'Histoire de M. le Cardinal de Richelieu.

CHAPTER IV

1626–1630

ANNE OF AUSTRIA AND MARIE DE' MEDICI

On her arrival in Paris, Anne earnestly petitioned to be allowed to retire to St. Germain. She was afflicted with a constant nervous tremor, and suffered at intervals from such prostration of strength as to create serious alarm. The mental anxiety which she had undergone had shaken her health, and in her solitude and depression Anne lamented her separation from Madame de Chevreuse. Peril and disgrace, however, unfortunately brought not to the Queen's mind a juster appreciation of the responsibilities and dignity of her position. She took no step on her return to the Louvre to reconcile herself with her husband; she treated Richelieu in public with negligent indifference, and made no attempt to conceal the greatness of her indignation against Marie de' Medici for "the shameful abandonment" which she had experienced at Nantes. Festivities were rare events at the Louvre, and the recent ordinance, forbidding *entrée* to the Queen's cabinets and saloon to the gentlemen of the court, had condemned Anne to virtual solitude. The Queen was surrounded by domestic spies, who made reports to Richelieu; for the latter watched with jealous vigilance her correspondence in England and

Spain. Aware of this *surveillance*, the Queen, nevertheless, continued to correspond with the Duchess de Chevreuse, with her kindred in Spain, with the Infanta at Brussels, with the Queen of England, and even with the Duke of Buckingham through the instrumentality of Gerbier, steward of the household to Buckingham, who yet lingered in France, under pretext of collecting works of art for the decoration of his master's palaces. King Charles and his ministers were at this period specially odious to Louis ; the feuds of the French attendants of Queen Henrietta Maria, and the indiscreet zeal of the priests, had necessitated their banishment from England. London was provoked almost to a tumult by the doings of these personages, and by the unhappy influence which Madame de St. Georges exercised over the quick temper of her royal mistress.[1] From this lady, who was the daughter of the King's old *gouvernante*, Madame de Montglât, Louis heard of the extravagant and indecorous manner in which Buckingham raved of the Queen of France, and of the Duke's indiscreet comments on Anne's unfortunate destiny as a wife. Lord Montague was despatched by Charles to explain the step which he had found himself compelled to sanction, relative to the expulsion from England of Henrietta's French attendants.[2] Louis, however, being apprized, by Madame de St. Georges, that the ambassador carried letters from Buckingham to the Queen and to the Duchess de Chevreuse, Montague received, on his arrival in Paris, an order to

leave the realm without audience, or being permitted to deliver his despatches. Bassompierre was appointed, a few days subsequently, as ambassador extraordinary to the court of Great Britain; deputed to mediate, on behalf of the Queen-mother and King Louis, between Charles and his Queen; and to insist on the plenary execution of the marriage contract which granted to Henrietta the full and public exercise of her faith.

The office of first *dame d'atours*, vacant by the banishment of Madame de Chevreuse, was given by the Cardinal to Madame de Fargis, the wife of de Fargis,[3] late French ambassador at Madrid. Anne objected violently to the appointment, but after a few months of sullen protest, ended by taking Madame de Fargis into favour and by yielding absurd compliance to her counsels. Madame de Fargis was the daughter of M. de la Rochepot, the old and faithful servant of Henri Quatre, and his ambassador for many years at the court of Madrid. So flighty and ill regulated was the conduct of Madeleine de Silly, that at an early age she had been confided by her father to the care of his old friend the Countess de St. Paul, a rigid Huguenot, as became the representative of the elder line of Caumont de la Force; and whose hôtel in Paris seems to have served as a kind of penitentiary for unruly damsels of rank. The discipline of the Hôtel de St. Paul proved of no avail. Mademoiselle de Silly so compromised her reputation with the Count de Cramail and others that she was compelled to seek the shelter of a

convent. "One might have imagined," says a contemporary, "that this lightsome lady was beautiful: not at all, her face was marked by small-pox; but she was agreeable, witty, lively, gallant, and a most charming companion." Mademoiselle de Silly, however, declined to take vows, and remained at her convent, the Carmelites of the Faubourg St. Jacques—often scandalizing the community, but winning toleration by her incomparable temper and fun—until the death of her father and of her eldest and only sister, the Countess de Retz.[4] Madeleine, now sole heiress of her late father, thereupon took leave of her friends the Carmelites, under pretext that her health forbade her to follow the severity of their rule. Her old levity returned in full vigour; on mingling again with the world, she appeared at the assemblies of the Hôtel Rambouillet, and there captivated M. de Fargis d'Angennes, cousin-german of the Marquis de Rambouillet, her host. Wit, humour, and joyous *abandon* were more to a d'Angennes than morality or *bienséance*. Madeleine de Silly became the wife of M. de Fargis, who had just been appointed ambassador to Madrid, and accompanied him to Spain. Her sojourn there lasted four years, and great had been the admiration excited by the graceful and lively ambassadress. Madame de Fargis, however, rejoiced in her husband's recall from his mission, for the gloomy and decorous court of Philip IV. wearied and taxed too severely her powers of self-control. She had scarcely arrived in Paris when the post

of lady of the bedchamber to Queen Anne fell at the disposal of Richelieu. Madame de Fargis instantly solicited the appointment through the Cardinal de Berulle, who was confessor and director of the Carmelites of the Faubourg St. Jacques, and whose friendship she had won during her seclusion with the nuns. Berulle introduced the fair petitioner to the potent minister,[5] who found the wit of Madame de Fargis so much to his taste, and was so satisfied with her apparent devotion to his interests and by her promises to rule the Queen and her household in subservience to his will, that Richelieu decided upon the appointment. Madame de Fargis accordingly, in defiance of the repugnance manifested by the Queen, entered upon her functions, which virtually gave her the privileges of the first lady of the household, as Anne at this period had no *dames du palais*. Madame de la Flotte[6] was at the same time appointed by the Cardinal as governess of Queen Marie's maids of honour; and about this period she introduced her grand-daughter, the celebrated Marie de Hautefort, at the Luxembourg. The merit of Mademoiselle de Hautefort was discerned by Marie, who presented her to the notice of Louis XIII. as a damsel of "singular virtue and probity."

Madame de Chevreuse, meantime, had been busily engaged on the work of proving to the Cardinal de Richelieu "that she was not the friendless and incompetent personage he took her to be." Intent on vengeance, few could have more

skilfully combined the elements of dissension, or have fostered so cleverly the prevailing discord between the powers of Europe. In France discontent was rife: the crown was gradually, but firmly, resuming its ancient grants of privileges to the great barons of the realm, which had been so cruelly misused; the King aimed at being in future the sole fountain of honour and dispenser of grace. The haughty lords, who were paramount over the provinces of the kingdom, saw themselves displaced for trivial misdemeanours, and their governments given to new men, creatures of the minister, and dependent upon the bounty of the King for their position and revenue. The Huguenots rebelled under the strong hand of Richelieu; the Rohans beheld their pretensions to the once Protestant principality of Béarn, so long a menace to the descendants of Henri IV., derided. Duplessis-Mornay wrote in vain, and found his threats futile; and Lesdiguières, wise in his day, secured the fortunes of his house by renouncing Calvinism. The strongholds wrested from Henri IV. by his restless subjects of the reformed faith, Richelieu now redemanded, and announced that that focus of sedition, La Rochelle, and its adjacent territory must submit to the universal ascendency of the crown by the expulsion of its heretic municipality, and of its defenders, de Rohan and his brothers of Soubise. The frantic cries of the French Protestants, thus menaced by a minister armed with irresponsible power, echoed in the English council; and the

Duke de Rohan sent his brothers de Soubise to implore the aid of Charles I. and the favourable auspices of Buckingham. A mandate of extermination for the great Huguenot citadel had already gone forth; the engineers and the surveyors of the Cardinal encircled La Rochelle, and by the command of his Eminence were engaged in fortifying the island of Ré, which had been captured by M. de St. Luc, after the Huguenots had suffered a naval defeat from the ships under M. de Montmorency. The influence of the Duchess de Chevreuse was yet alive in England. Lord Holland was devoted to her; Buckingham conciliated her favour for the sake of and as a means of access to Anne of Austria; and King Charles admired her sprightliness and extolled her personal charms. She was, moreover, a near kinswoman of the "great Rohans." Marie de Rohan Chevreuse, therefore, whose relatives might kindle civil war throughout Bretagne and the south of France, felt that her enmity could make itself felt even when her foe was the omnipotent Cardinal ruler of France. Spain, already passively inimical, was ready to take up arms on the slightest provocation. The restraint in which her ambassador lived in Paris; the grievances of the young Queen Anne; the unfriendly distance maintained by King Louis towards his wife's kinsmen; and the earnest desire manifested by Philip IV. to disturb the *entente* between the crowns of France and England, apparently riveted by the marriage of a French princess with Charles I., rendered the

Spanish minister accessible to negotiation. The question concerning the succession to the duchy of Mantua, moreover, opened a multitude of grievances and heartburnings. The new duke was one of Louis' most potent princes, Charles de Gonzague de Cleves, Duc de Nevers. The Emperor Ferdinand II. opposed his investiture, and in concert with the Spanish Viceroy of Milan and the Duke of Savoy, invaded the duchy and its dependency of Montferrato. Nevers appealed to Louis XIII., and besought his intervention; a prayer, to which the politic Richelieu gave little heed, pending his warlike designs on the Rochellois. In the Duke of Lorraine, Madame de Chevreuse found a ready and willing ally.[7] Charles IV. had espoused his cousin Nicole, eldest daughter of Duke Henry of Lorraine and Marguerite de Gonzague, and heiress of the duchy. The duke was a vacillating, unsteady man; a slave to feminine charms and wiles, and indifferent to his consort, whose attachment he repaid by attempts, after their marriage, to set aside her claims on the duchy, and to assert those of his father, the Count de Vaudemont, as the nearest male heir of the late duke, his father-in-law.[8] Charles received Madame de Chevreuse with distinction; he assigned for her use the beautiful palace of Blamont, and abetted her intrigues to bring about a coalition of the Powers against France. The campaign was to be inaugurated by the succour of La Rochelle. The Duke always inclined to the alliance of Austria rather than to that of France. Richelieu

had demanded several of Charles' frontier strongholds; and, unable to cope against so potent a pleader, he had sought safety under the protection of the Emperor. The design of the confederates, after the relief of La Rochelle by the British fleet, was that the Duke of Buckingham should disembark, and accept a command in the late beleaguered city; that the Duke of Savoy should then invade Provence; that the Duke de Rohan, at the head of the Calvinist armies, should raise Languedoc; while the Duke de Lorraine made his way through Champagne to the very gates of the capital—such having been the proposed campaign and dream of all the traitorous subjects of France from the days of the great Constable de Bourbon. To execute the plan of the conspiracy it was necessary that the English fleet should take the initiative, and by the succour of La Rochelle and the destruction of Richelieu's famous forts on the island of Ré, enable the French dissidents in the south to take heart enough to listen to the subtle promptings of Philip IV. and his minister, the Count-duke de Olivarez. As Philip II., the zealous champion of the popedom, had tampered with the allegiance of the heretic Henri de Navarre in his war with his orthodox sovereign King Henry III., and promised aid to the Huguenots, so now Philip IV. was ready to become the ally of the Rohans, provided that the realm suffered calamity enough to destroy its competition with the monarchy of Spain. It appears that the Queen was kept constantly informed of

the progress of this negotiation; unadmonished by her recent narrow escape, and by the clemency which she had received at the hands of the King her consort and of the minister whom she pursued with such reckless hate, Anne ventured still to cabal. Such was the Queen's hardihood, and so perfect were her powers of dissimulation and silent endurance, that no past danger ever seems to have been sufficiently remembered to act as a warning for the future. Her very helplessness, beauty and affability won devoted attachment, so that no princess ever possessed adherents more faithful and determined. Under a silent and submissive demeanour strong passions agitated the spirit of the Queen: her haughtiness of character invested her with self-control, while her passive but determined enmity rendered her a foe to be dreaded even by Richelieu.

The young Duchess of Orleans, during the course of these events, gave birth to a daughter at the Louvre, May 29th, and died a few days afterwards, surviving her marriage with Monsieur scarcely ten months.[9] To propitiate Monsieur, and to make him loyally oblivious of the vexations he had experienced at Nantes, Madame received enthusiastic welcome at the Louvre, and was invested with privileges derogatory to the prerogatives of the Queen-consort. The Duchess was dispensed from the obligation of visiting the saloon of the Queen daily; neither was she expected to present herself three times in the week at her Majesty's *lever*, as had been the

invariable etiquette of the court of France. At the public receptions of the Louvre, Marie de' Medici and Madame gathered around them a *coterie* of the most brilliant personages of the court; while Anne sat in her chair of state comparatively abandoned, being timidly addressed by Monsieur, and saluted with ceremonious politeness by the King. Madame does not appear to have been deeply lamented; her infant daughter,[10] heiress of her immense wealth, was confided to the care of Marie de' Medici, who had her brought up at the Tuileries, under Madame de St. Georges.[11] The fancy of Monsieur soon became fascinated by the radiant loveliness of a fair young princess of Gonzague-Nevers, daughter of the Duke of Mantua, a *débutante* at court, and to whom he commenced to offer ardent suit.

Bassompierre, meanwhile, had returned from London, having partially succeeded in mediating between Charles and his consort. Henrietta, however, still mourning her early friends, and believing herself lost in a land of heretics, where her priests were pelted in the streets by the London populace and her faith derided, implored the Queen her mother to permit her to visit France—"But, Madame, this happiness, if you grant it to me, can only be obtained by permitting M. de Buckingham to become my escort to your court." The Duke of Buckingham also confided to Bassompierre his longing desire to return to Paris; and charged the ambassador to sound the Cardinal on the subject, and to hint that great achieve-

ments in diplomacy, very advantageous to France, might be obtained by their personal conference.[12] Bassompierre performed his mission, and stated the Duke's wish, which was met on the part of Louis XIII. by an indignant refusal.[13] Anne also privately requested Bassompierre to write to M. de Buckingham to put off his visit; and to state, in her name, that such would be very displeasing to her.[14] The disappointment of Buckingham hurried him into the folly of lending a favourable ear to the solicitations of the Rochellois, whose interests were supported in England by M. de Soubise. He, moreover, entered into a close correspondence with Madame de Chevreuse, and selected as the medium of his communications with the Duchess, Walter Montague, second son of the first Earl of Manchester, who was about to travel in France. Richelieu, however, was too wary to be so surprised, or to suffer the enemies of France to complete their coalition ere he struck the blow which should subjugate his master's rebellious subjects of the reformed faith. Moreover, Monsieur was again sullen and unmanageable, although honours, privileges and wealth were heaped upon him with a lavish hand. For some inscrutable reason of her own, Marie de' Medici opposed the desire of Monsieur to espouse for his second wife the Princess Marie de Gonzague, of whom he continued madly enamoured. The Cardinal, whose policy it was to humour his royal patroness in all possible ways, save in those matters which might have operated for his own

downfall, supported her Majesty in this refusal, and gained over the King to show similar disapprobation. Monsieur threatened, stormed—but was finally propitiated for an interval, by the promise of a military command.[15] Without waiting, therefore, for his foes to perfect their design, Louis XIII. invested La Rochelle, and appointed his brother as general-in-chief of his armies; nominating Bassompierre and M. de Schomberg as his aides-de-camp and counsellors. This concession, however, was extorted from the King, who jealously watched the career of Monsieur; and was conceded only on news of the sailing of Buckingham and the fleet from Portsmouth, during a sharp attack of his old malady, which prevented Louis from leaving the Château de Villeroy, whither he had arrived from Paris *en route* for the camp.

Buckingham meanwhile set sail at the beginning of July, 1627, with a fleet of fifty men-of-war and of sixty smaller vessels, and an army of 7000 men.[16] Charles declared to his council that his reasons for invading France were threefold—1st, that King Louis had declined to grant a passage through France to some English levies under Count Mansfield; 2ndly, that the French fleet had made prizes of some small coasting vessels hovering about La Rochelle; and lastly, because the Huguenots were oppressed, and in danger of losing all their strongholds, La Rochelle being already besieged. The Duke of Buckingham was more candidly explicit on the causes and motives

of the war. "In spite of all the power and might of France, I will see her fair Queen again!" exclaimed he publicly at a farewell banquet at Whitehall. The Duke's galley was adorned with a yellow and black banner, the colours of Anne of Austria, and her cipher was everywhere displayed.[17] The chief cabin on board was dedicated to her charms: it was draped with yellow silk damask; at one end was a life-size picture of the Queen, shrouded by superb curtains of cloth of gold, before which golden candelabra were placed, holding lighted tapers of white wax.[18] The madness and infatuation of this conduct admit of no palliation; the prosperity of the Duke's career must have induced insanity, and have rendered him cruelly forgetful of the position of Anne of Austria, and of the disgrace which his insensate ambition had already inflicted. So unexpectedly was the expedition decided upon, that the municipality of La Rochelle were not even apprised of the sailing of the fleet when Buckingham appeared before the town; the people, therefore, refused to admit their intending allies before due inquiry had been made as to the object of the landing of so formidable a force.[19] Buckingham thus repulsed, attacked the island of Ré, and began to batter the great fort of St. Martin, which was defended by the brave M. de Toiras with admirable valour. The cannonade, however, was suspended for a few days, by order of the Duke; who, being probably assailed with misgivings as to the motive of the war, and perhaps a little disheartened by

his reception by the Rochellois, abated in much of his boasted vigour. Richelieu immediately ordered the despatch of 6000 men under Schomberg to Ré, who encamped on the island, and rendered essential assistance to Toiras; while Monsieur diligently pushed the siege by land. The Duke of Buckingham was profuse in his civilities to any French gentlemen who visited his fleet. M. Saint Surin, a distant kinsman of Richelieu, especially recommended himself to the Duke's favour; and the latter one day introduced him into the chamber on board the galley where the picture of Anne of Austria hung. Buckingham boldly avowed his admiration for the Queen, and his desire to visit Paris; bitterly complaining of the uncourteous refusal of the prayer, which he had preferred through Bassompierre. He ended by requesting M. Saint Surin to communicate again his desire to the Cardinal; engaging, if his Christian Majesty consented to receive him in the capacity of ambassador from his Britannic Majesty, that he would presently take pretext to retire from before La Rochelle and leave the city to its fate. St. Surin undertook the mission; but repented his officiousness when he found himself arrested after his interview with the minister, and about to be consigned to the Bastille "for presumptuous and traitorous communication with the enemy"; a fate from which his kinship to Richelieu delivered him.[20] Meanwhile the garrison of Fort St. Martin was reinforced by the unforeseen and gallant descent of Schomberg. The

blockade, also, being loosely maintained, the beleaguered garrison obtained abundance of provision. On the 20th of October Buckingham landed his troops and again attacked the fort; he was repulsed with immense slaughter, and his soldiers driven into the sea by the troops under Schomberg. Retreat became inevitable, and the embarkation of the soldiers under such disastrous circumstances was attended with further loss of life. The Duke rejoined his fleet, having lost more than half of his land forces, and immediately set sail for England.[21]

The vigilance of the Cardinal was rewarded in another quarter by an important capture. Walter Montague,[22] as has before been related, had been charged with the perilous office of carrying the correspondence and the replies returned by the English court to Madame de Chevreuse. Through his spies Richelieu learned that suspicious circumstances were attached to the frequent journeys to and from Nancy made by the young Englishman; and that the letters he was known to carry were probably of more momentous import than effusions sent by the English admirers of the Duchess. A warrant was thereupon issued for the detention of Montague, which was delivered for execution to the Marquis de Borbonne, who arrested him on the frontiers of Lorraine, and conveyed him a prisoner to the neighbouring castle of Coissy.[23] His papers were seized and despatched to Paris. The fact of the arrest of Montague was communicated to the Queen, as

her Majesty was supping in public. Anne turned deadly pale, and pushed the dishes from before her as they were presented; then rising, at the conclusion of the repast, she retired to her private apartments. Her distress and consternation appear to have been extreme; it was possible that Montague's papers might again fatally compromise her position—at any rate, she dreaded lest the examination of the prisoner would reveal her own guilty knowledge of the design forming for the invasion of France. Her perturbation was increased by the arrival, a few hours later, of a note from Madame de Chevreuse, written in wild alarm, apprising her Majesty of the arrest of Montague, but professing total ignorance as to the nature of the despatches and letters of which he was the bearer.

Anne spent the night and part of the following day weeping in her oratory, alone with Madame de Fargis; devising means for communicating with Montague, in order to discover what the confiscated papers contained. The sympathy of Madame de Fargis at this juncture elicited the Queen's entire confidence: with all her wilful perversity, and dissimulation, there was, at any crisis, a touching helplessness and grief in Anne's aspect which usually proved irresistible in evoking the best energies of her adherents. Her friends felt themselves honoured by the outward abandonment, on the part of their royal mistress, of the distance imposed by her rank; by her *naïve* appeals to their sympathy; and by her

admissions that, abandoned by their help, she esteemed herself lost. Through the Cardinal de Berulle, Madame de Fargis discovered that the prisoner Montague was to be immediately escorted to the Bastille ; and that certain regiments of the royal guards were already selected to proceed to Coissy on the morrow. In one of these regiments the Queen suddenly remembered that her faithful La Porte had been drafted as a soldier after his dismissal from her service, on the return of the court from Amiens. Her Majesty, therefore, applied to M. Lavaux, who was intimate with La Porte, and the father of one of her dressers, to bring the latter to the Louvre at midnight, when she would confer with him secretly in her oratory. To such clandestine and undignified interviews Anne was driven, to hide the miserable intrigues from which she could not refrain.

Anne seems always to have taken the opportunity to cabal when her adopted country was in straits and needed loyal devotion. At this period France was menaced abroad by the arms of England, Spain, Savoy, and Lorraine ; the Emperor Ferdinand defied her power, and in spite of earnest expostulations, was proceeding to ruin and dethrone the French prince, whom the rights of primogeniture had placed on the ducal throne of Mantua. At home civil war menaced the realm : the Huguenots were utterly disaffected and malcontent ; and the heir-presumptive to the throne threatened to league with rebels, against whom he had accepted a command. Monsieur

had suddenly retired from the camp before La Rochelle on the arrival there of the King. He stated in excuse, that Louis had promised him the command in chief, which engagement was annulled by the royal presence; moreover, that the continued opposition made to his marriage with Marie de Gonzague convinced him that "their Majesties never had his welfare and happiness at heart." At court the Queen-mother was involved in violent dissensions with the Cardinal minister, respecting the Lord Keeper Marillac, whom Richelieu wished to supersede in the ministry in favour of the more able de Châteauneuf. Such was the position of affairs when Queen Anne joined in the correspondence of the Duchess de Chevreuse with the foes of France. This incident in the troubled career of the Queen would probably have escaped record but for the pen of La Porte. It does not appear that, at this period, any correspondence injurious to Anne fell into the hands of the King. Richelieu probably did suspect, and acted on his suspicion; but proof of Anne's misdemeanour failed him; and it was ever the policy of the Cardinal, "never to accuse, without he could likewise stab." "The news of the arrestation of my lord Montague threw the Queen into a strange fright," records La Porte,[24] "she dreaded lest her name might be compromised by the papers taken from Montague; and that, if such a fact had been laid before the King, with whom she was not then on good terms, his Majesty might ill-treat her, and send her back to Spain, as he

would most assuredly have done. This fear so greatly disquieted her Majesty, that she could neither eat nor sleep. She was in this quandary when her Majesty suddenly remembered that I was a soldier of one of the regiments chosen for the escort of my lord. She, therefore, enquired of Lavaux where I could be found ; he looked me up, and conducted me at midnight to the Queen's chamber, after every person had retired. Her Majesty explained to me her trouble ; adding, that having no person whom she could trust, she had sent for me, believing that I should serve her with devotion. She said, that on the report which I was to bring her, depended her worldly salvation, and honour. The Queen then explained her desire ; and directed me to take the opportunity when I was on guard near to the person of the said prisoner Montague, to ask him whether in the papers taken from him her Majesty was named ? Also, if it should happen, as it was certain to befal, that when in the Bastille he should be subjected to severe interrogatories, and pressed to reveal all the accomplices in the intended league, I was to pray and admonish earnestly the said my lord, not to name her Majesty. I succeeded in informing Montague of the distress of the Queen ; and he replied, ' That her Majesty might rest tranquil ; for that he believed she was not named directly, or indirectly, in any of the letters and despatches taken from him ' ; also, he assured me I might tell the Queen, ' that he would rather die than reveal, or say

anything that could injure her!' When I delivered this reply, the Queen actually trembled for joy!" writes La Porte. Anne escaped this time with the fright. The young "my lord" was subjected to no examination of consequence in the Bastille, and was simply detained there until the peace with England, concluded in 1629; when, out of deference to the clamour of the Duke of Lorraine, "the ambassador accredited to his court" was conducted under escort to the frontiers of the duchy, and there released.

The Rochellois, meantime, were comforted in their adversity and desertion by the entry into their harbour of a fast sailing vessel, bringing a letter from Charles I., assuring the citizens of his continued support; and that he was preparing a fleet and armament which would at once insure the concession of their liberties. Delays, however, arose, of which the French government knew how to profit. Throughout the winter of 1627 and the first months of the following year, the siege was carried on with wonderful vigour. The King remained in camp until the 9th of February 1628; when, feeling indisposed, he returned to Paris, leaving Richelieu sole commander-in-chief, with the power of life and death over every person engaged in the siege.[25] Aware that the Rochellois could never be subdued while their city was open to the approach of an English fleet, Richelieu commenced that wonderful work, the mole and fortification which close the harbour of La Rochelle. Two French engineers, Louis Metezeau,

a townsman of Dreux, and Jean Tiriot, were the designers of the work, which was carried on under the inspection of the Cardinal, whose courage and perseverance were sustained by his able counsellor the Capuchin father, Joseph de Tremblay. The Cardinal lived in a lone house known as Le Pont de la Pierre, situated a stone's cast from the beach. There the Cardinal and "his shadow" worked, plotted, pondered and sustained each other during the blockade; they sketched imaginary schemes for the glory and the political government of France, which, impossible as these designs then appeared, the matchless genius of these two men realised under the fostering growth of King Louis' inaptitude for affairs of state, his ever wavering health, and the suspicions which poisoned his existence.

Long and angry debates ensued meanwhile in the English Parliament relative to Buckingham's policy;[26] which retarded the sailing of the promised succours, and enabled the French engineers to continue their works, the aim of which mystified the British cabinet. The fate of the rebel city was rendered more desperate by the assassination of Buckingham; who fell by the knife of one Felton, August 24th, 1628, after granting audience to Soubise, and other French gentlemen, at Portsmouth, as he was again about to embark to relieve Rochelle.[27] The assassin had served in the former expedition to Ré, and had felt himself aggrieved, because the captain of his ship having fallen during the memorable embarkation from that

island, the Duke declined to promote him to the vacant post. The news of the death of Buckingham was received with satisfaction in France. The Queen refused for long to believe that the gallant, handsome favourite had fallen. "No!" exclaimed Anne, "it is impossible! I have just received letters from the Duke."[28] When convinced of his death, her dejection was great; and for some time her Majesty seemed to find solace only in the correspondence of Queen Henrietta. The latter, however, had hated the presuming favourite, whom she accused of attempting to degrade her to the forlorn position of her sister-in-law; and who had suggested the banishment of her French ladies, to avenge his own exclusion from the Louvre. The command of the English fleet was conferred on the Earl of Lindsay; who, on the 28th of September, appeared off La Rochelle with a fleet of seventy-two vessels and attacked Richelieu's new fortifications, but failed to destroy them, or to open the harbour. The inhabitants, meantime, were reduced to the last extremities of famine; on the repulse of their allies, their despair and sufferings compelled them to open negotiations with their incensed sovereign and his minister. These overtures were made October 23rd. On the 30th the city surrendered and was punished by the total abrogation of its charters and privileges, besides the imposition of a fine to an immense amount, to defray the cost of the fortifications and siege works. On the 1st of November, All Saints' Day, the victorious Riche-

lieu celebrated mass at the high altar of the late heretic cathedral dedicated to Ste. Marguerite, after the solemn reconsecration of the church by the Archbishop of Bordeaux. The same day Louis XIII. made his state entry into the revolted city. Thus, after seven successful revolts against the royal authority in the space of 100 years, the factious Rochellois were totally subdued; their fortifications levelled; their privileges annulled; and their harbour effectually barred against the approach of any fleet but that of their liege sovereign. The English fleet under Lord Lindsay made sail after the surrender of La Rochelle, and safely put into port in Portsmouth harbour. The ignoble termination of this expedition occasioned stormy and even tumultuous debates in the English Chambers. Peace, however, was eventually concluded with France in September of the following year, 1629: the articles of the marriage treaty of Henriette Marie were confirmed again; England abandoned the Huguenots of France to their fate; an amnesty was to be granted for all concerned in the late transactions, and Madame de Chevreuse was to be recalled from banishment and suffered to reside in the château of Dampierre.[29]

The submission of La Rochelle was followed by an expedition undertaken by the King in person to compel the Spaniards to raise the siege of Casale; which was invested by Don Gonzalez de Cordova. The Emperor persisted in his refusal to grant investiture of the duchy of Mantua to Charles de Gonzagues; and demanded that the territory

should be relinquished to him as lord paramount, until the rights of the various claimants were examined and adjusted. Duke Charles implored the succour of the King ; and the policy of Richelieu being now favourable to the old tactics of Sully and Henri Quatre, the Duke's prayer was conceded. The reduction of the remaining Huguenot strongholds of the South the minister postponed to the more propitious season, when both Spain and Austria, humbled by the victorious arms of France, as he had predetermined, should thereby be compelled to abandon these rebellious vassals to the mercy of the government. The King, accompanied by Richelieu, quitted Paris February 4, 1629, for his Italian expedition. He was attended by the Dukes de Longueville, d'Elbœuf, de Schomberg ; the Marshals de Bassompierre, de Crequi, and other noblemen. The army, flushed with its recent success before La Rochelle, was obedient and enthusiastic, and regarded the relief of the fortress of Casale, and the expulsion of the Spaniards and Savoyards from Montferrat, as a very inferior achievement. The prospect of a war with Spain was a bitter accession of grievance to the Queen ; and at this period her stolen interviews became so frequent with the Spanish ambassador, the Marquis de Mirabel, as to give great umbrage to the King. One day before the departure of Richelieu from Paris, he paid a visit of formal courtesy to Queen Anne to say farewell. As the visit of the minister had not been previously announced, he found Mirabel closeted

with her Majesty ; the only other person present being Madame de Fargis. The Cardinal advanced, and after inclining profoundly before the Queen, addressed Mirabel with his usual bland cordiality of tone. "Monsieur l'Ambassadeur," said he, "his Christian Majesty desired me, on the first opportunity, to express to you his regret and astonishment at the haste which the Emperor has shown in sending his armies into the Milanese, and against Duke Charles of Mantua, an old subject of France!" "The Emperor might certainly have shown more prudence if he had waited for the termination of our negotiations with your Eminence. His Imperial Majesty doubtless believed that the affair would drag on here with endless tedium, as it has so often happened ; he therefore deemed it politic to urge on a *dénouement* by arms!" responded Mirabel, sarcastically. Richelieu showed that he was piqued at this reply, and to turn the conversation he addressed the Queen on some indifferent matter. Anne, however, rose, and taking the hand of Mirabel interposed, saying, "M. l'Ambassadeur, do not excite yourself. I, who have at heart the interests of Spain in equal degree with those of France, cannot approve of the precipitancy shown by the Emperor in sending his armies as a menace to our frontiers. I will myself write to the King my brother on the subject." [30] It had been often better for the Queen if she had remembered the celebrated axiom of Richelieu : "If words are the first power in the world, silence is the second!" When this conversation was

repeated by Richelieu to the King, he was greatly offended that the Queen had declared "that she had the interest of Spain as much at heart as that of France," and personally administered a sharp rebuke; forbidding her Majesty during his absence to see the Spanish ambassador, who had alone disobeyed the recent ordinance prohibiting *entrée* to the Queen's private saloons to the gentlemen of the court.

During the absence of the King, Anne withdrew to St. Germain, attended by her household; while Marie de' Medici, installed in the Louvre, represented the absent majesty of France, and held all court receptions. Occasionally Anne ventured to trespass upon the strict injunctions which she had received to avoid the capital, by paying private visits to the Val de Grâce, a convent which she had recently founded. Even this privilege of retreat Anne had managed to abuse, by granting secret audiences in the convent to Mirabel, and to other personages who presumed not to present themselves at the Louvre. Richelieu's spies, however, soon detected the subterfuge, and it was several times reported to the minister that M. de Mirabel had been seen to leave his coach in an obscure street adjacent to the Faubourg St. Jacques and proceed on foot to the Val de Grâce, where he was admitted; and after an interval of several hours was observed in the same furtive manner to return to his coach.[31] The mystery so foolishly maintained by the Queen in her intercourse with her own family, and her pertinacity in refusing

to impart the purport of any of her frequent communications, added to the well-known facts that she was in correspondence with Madame de Chevreuse, and occasionally so with Monsieur, afforded ground for the suspicion that she was disloyal to her husband's crown. Her preference for everything Spanish, and the favour which she showed to persons who spoke her native tongue, such as Mesdames Bertaut and de Fargis, and the daughter of the former, afterwards the celebrated Madame de Motteville, perpetuated the notion, of which Anne unreasonably complained, that she was still in heart an alien from France. It was moreover suspected, and all but proved, that at this period Anne reported to Mirabel any decision of the privy council affecting her brother's affairs which accidentally came to her knowledge, or any hasty and inconsiderate word which dropped in her presence from the lips of the King or his minister concerning their Catholic Majesties.[32] In the abbess of the Val de Grâce, Luisa de Milley, Anne found a companion and firm friend. The brother of the abbess was a subject of Spain, being a native of Franche Comtê, and governor of Besançon. Luisa de Milley had been educated in the Carmelite convent of Avila: all her aspirations were therefore Spanish; and as many of her connections resided in Spain, this *liaison* afforded the Queen an easy and invaluable mode of communication with her own country.

"The Queen," writes Madame de Motteville, "being still young, but desirous of providing for

her eternal salvation before all things, had selected the convent of the Val de Grâce as a place of retreat, where she could always retire, and taste that peace which is to be found only at the footstool of God." Anne, in 1621, bought the Hôtel de Valois, for the sum of 36,000 livres ; the old building was partially demolished, July 1623, and the remaining apartments adapted to conventual purposes, after the Queen had selected a suite of rooms for her own occupation. Anne built a superb private oratory, the altar of which was decorated with a painting and a crucifix, gifts of Philip IV. of Spain. The community of Val Profond, a small convent situated about nine miles from Bièvre, was chosen to inhabit her Majesty's new foundation ; but why these ladies were so favoured does not appear. The nuns, with their abbess, La Mère d'Arbouze, were installed at the Val de Grâce in the early part of the year 1623. The community was of the Benedictine order ; and their abbess appears to have been renowned for saintly austerity, as she was transferred during the following year to the convent of La Charité, there to enforce discipline and the rule of St. Benedict, which had fallen into disuse, to the great scandal of the neighbourhood. Luisa de Milley, abbess of St. Etienne, was then chosen by the Queen as the head of her house, and assumed rule at Val de Grâce about the year 1625. Anne immediately established relations of the closest confidence with the new abbess, who sympathised deeply in her Majesty's distresses.

The abbess was subsequently accused of having sanctioned public prayer in her chapel, for the downfall of the Cardinal minister and of all the other enemies of the very Christian and persecuted Queen of France. La Mère Luisa and her nuns looked upon Anne as an immaculate saint, whose prayers and patronage brought the blessing of Heaven on their house; they faithfully kept her secrets and performed her bidding, even when such involved imminent risk to themselves. No betrayal or hostile witness ever confronted the Queen from the Val de Grâce; and the glorious and magnificent house which hereafter rose on the foundation of the humble convent of La Mère Luisa, was dedicated by Anne of Austria as much in memory of the devoted fidelity which she had there experienced, as a lofty monument of her joy and thanksgiving for the birth of Louis XIV. The other personages, besides the Abbess Luisa and Mesdames de Chevreuse and de Fargis, at this period in the confidence of Queen Anne, were her physician, Vaultier, and her apothecary, Michel Danse. Vaultier had been for some time high in the favour of Marie de' Medici, who had taken measures to bespeak for him a cardinal's hat. He subsequently passed from the service of Marie into that of her daughter-in-law, Queen Anne, and became an ardent but injudicious servant of the latter, entering into all the petty cabals which the ladies and women of Anne's household raised against the minister. Amongst her humbler servants were La Porte, Lavaux, his

wife and daughter, a dresser named Catherine, and her nurse, Doña Estafania, who wisely shut her ears against insinuations and scandals, and consequently lived a life of tranquillity.

The Duke of Orleans, meantime, fled from the kingdom to Nancy; so intense was his resentment at the persistent opposition manifested by his mother and the King at his suit to the Princess Marie de Gonzague. Marie de' Medici, during the Italian campaign, dominated in Paris, living for the moment on amicable terms with Richelieu's beloved niece, Madame de Combalet, who was about to shine at the Palais Cardinal as Duchess d'Aiguillon. A glorious campaign, which terminated by the successful action of the Pas de Susa, and the relief and cession of Casale to the French, rejoiced the court and nation. The King, after installing the Marshals de Crequi and de Bassompierre over the captured territory, received the thanks of the Duke of Mantua, and returned to France to carry on the campaign in the South for the total reduction of the Huguenot power. The exploits of "l'Armée de Valence" were as signal as those of the division in possession of Montferrat. Town after town, with but few exceptions, submitted to the royal power, and was graciously pardoned for past treasons, though deprived of treasured charters and religious exemptions. Languedoc submitted: the Duke de Rohan laid down arms, and accepted articles signed at Alais, in which it was stipulated that the fortifications of the great Huguenot strongholds

of Nîmes, Castres, d'Usez, and Montauban, should be demolished. The Huguenots were compelled to make restoration of Church lands and benefices seized or appropriated by them from the commencement of the civil wars in 1561 ; all churches were dedicated afresh, and the orthodox service re-established. The Cardinal refused to receive the petitions of the ministers of the churches ; he declared that he knew no distinction between the religion of any of his Majesty's subjects ; that all should participate in the paternal regard of the government ; and no person or sect be distinguished, except for loyalty and devotion to the glorious race of Bourbon.

Louis XIII., leaving his minister at Montauban, arrived at Fontainebleau at the beginning of May 1629, where the Queens had repaired to offer their congratulations. Marie received her son as a hero descended from Mount Olympus, but the pouting lips of Anne of Austria had no smiles for Louis. Her ironical salutations, and allusion to his victories over Spain and the Empire, justly provoked his anger, while her dejection, the absence of splendour in her attire, and the readiness with which she yielded her precedence and prerogative to Marie de' Medici, excited the King's distrust. Anne ever thus let the opportunity slip to establish ascendency over the mind of Louis. While the Cardinal dictated peace at Montauban, she should have seized the moment to propitiate her consort, who found the *exigeant* humours of the Queen-mother hard to endure. Until the return

of Richelieu, Louis found recreation in the chase. He also derived relaxation from his musical instruments, and in setting verses to dreary tunes of his own composition. The King also found amusement in carving wooden shrines with his under secretary, M. de Noyers, who excelled in that art. Richelieu at length returned to receive the congratulations of his royal master on his diplomatic victories in the South. The reception of his Eminence by Marie de' Medici, however, was stormy and ominous. Richelieu, during his sojourn in the South, had taken no counsel of the Queen-mother respecting his compact with Rohan and his followers; he had even severely reprimanded Marie for her arbitrary detention at Vincennes of the Princess Marie de Gonzague; and had sent an order for the release of the young princess, at the solicitation of Monsieur and of her cousin-german the Duke de Longueville. Moreover, he had blamed the conduct of Marie in other matters relative to the Duke of Orleans, who, while pretending to respond to the overtures of the King to return from his self-inflicted exile, had stipulated that he should not be required to visit his Majesty until time had allayed the acrimony of his feelings in having been so cruelly thwarted in his matrimonial designs. The Duke had therefore sullenly retired to the capital of his appanage, Orleans. Richelieu had recourse to his usual remedy to defeat the anger of the Queen-mother; he pretended to be overwhelmed with dismay, and prepared to quit Fontainebleau, " as he perceived

that his fate was sealed, and her Majesty's displeasure irrevocable." His subtle Eminence next commanded his niece, De Combalet, to resign her office in Marie's household; and his cousin, De Meilleraye, to tender his bâton of chamberlain. The King, alarmed at these preparations, flew to his mother and besought her to pardon a delinquent so submissive. Marie, unable to resist the entreaties of her King and son; and moved by the meek deportment of a minister whose power, as she well knew, might, if he chose to exert it, prove irresistible, consented to a truce.[33] The winter of 1629–30, therefore, passed in stormy altercations and reconciliations; the ill-regulated temper of Queen Marie relieving itself by vilifying the Cardinal in public, and by accusing him to the King as a liar, a deceiver and an ingrate. "We shall see M. le Cardinal ere long pack up his baggage and decamp, or I shall quit the court!" M. Bonnevil, first *valet de chambre* to her Majesty, represented that M. le Cardinal seemed greatly depressed at the report of the depreciating things she was constantly heard to utter. "M. le Cardinal," replied Marie de' Medici, "is elastic, and able to adapt himself to any *rôle;* one minute his spirits are joyous, the next he seems to be half dead: rising from a poor little pitiful abbé, see how grandly he plays the part of Eminence and prime minister! He treats me, his benefactress, with a more bitter hate than he gave to M. de Luynes, and he pretends to exclude me, the mother of his King, from power! Ah! M. le

Cardinal weeps his crocodile tears at pleasure!" In such fashion did this violent woman agitate the court. During the winter season of 1629 the cabal was formed that nearly overturned the power of Richelieu, and which was defeated only by his own extraordinary sagacity, and by the weakness of Louis XIII. Marie was the soul of the cabal; her Majesty gathered round her, in support of her cause, and the downfall of the insolent prelate, the Princess de Conti, Marguerite Louise de Lorraine-Guise, the old friend of Henri Quatre, who was still frivolous, coquettish, flighty and fascinating—"*la première dame qui a appris à sa majesté Anne d'Autriche d'être coquette*"—the Duke de Guise, Condé, Monsieur, the Duchess d'Elbœuf; Marillac, whose dismissal from office had been resolved at the Palais Cardinal; the Duchess de Lesdiguières, the Marshal de Bassompierre, Mesdames de Fargis and de Chevreuse, Vaultier, the Count de Soissons—in short, all the influential malcontents of the realm. The Queens, moreover, sought reconciliation; which was presently demonstrated to the world by the frequent appearance of Anne at the Luxembourg, and by Marie's presence in the saloons of the Louvre. The Cardinal took matters quietly; he armed a legion of spies, domestic and public, who followed his foes to their most private retirement; and the result of their investigations he jotted down in that amusing Journal of Events, in which he records, apparently with *naïve* surprise, the agencies employed for his overthrow.

Early in the year 1630, however, the note of warfare again resounded. Spain refused to ratify the concession made by Don Gonzalez de Cordova, Viceroy of Milan, and agreed to by the Duke of Savoy; and her armies, under the famous Marquis de Spinola, marched to invest the fortress of Casale, which was still garrisoned by French troops under the Marshal de Crequi; while Count Colalto besieged Mantua. Richelieu was prepared for a campaign, which he had foreseen: the triumph of the Emperor over his revolted Bohemian subjects—who had thrown off their allegiance and elected for their King the Protestant brother-in-law of King Charles of England, the Elector Palatine—had inspired his Imperial Majesty with the notion that his army was invincible, and would soon sweep Montferrat of her Gallic invaders. The gallant veterans of Susa and of La Rochelle, and of many a hard-contested siege in the South, rose again to arms at the call of their King; and Louis soon saw himself at the head of a fine army, every soldier of which longed to fly to the rescue of his countrymen beleaguered by the hated Spaniards in Casale. For the moment political feuds were forgotten, and every class in the realm acquiesced in the wise and able mandates of the minister. The King insisted on assuming the conduct of the war; an enthusiasm, nevertheless, partly kindled by the warlike counsels of Richelieu, who descried less danger in being followed to the camp by the King than in leaving Louis exposed to the hostile

influences of the Louvre. His Majesty quitted Paris and arrived at Lyons, accompanied by the Queens,[34] about the 3rd of April; from thence Louis proceeded to join the camp at Grenoble, after making a short sojourn in the district of the Lyonnais. Richelieu, meantime, had been negotiating with the Duke of Savoy; overtures which resulted in nothing, and which were terminated by the sudden advance of part of the royal army to besiege Pignerol. His Eminence, however, quitted the camp, and journeyed to meet the King at Grenoble, attended by Giulio Mazarin—afterwards the famous Cardinal of that name—who had been sent by the Pope on a secret mission to negotiate an armistice between the Powers. From Grenoble, Richelieu travelled to Lyons to salute the Queen-mother, and to test his favour in the capricious esteem of Marie. He found her Majesty more hostile than ever, and surrounded by his hottest foes, such as Beringhen, Vaultier and others, and especially the Lord Keeper Marillac. In noting this last fact, Richelieu, in his Journal, adds the significant line,

"Qui amat periculum, peribit in illo."[35]

On the occasion of this visit, Mazarin first bent the knee before Anne of Austria, being presented to her by Richelieu, with the following insolent words —"Madame, I present to you the Sieur Giulio Mazarin; your Majesty will doubtless approve of this sagacious personage; as he, an agent of his Holiness, bears, as you perceive, a strong resemblance to the late Duke of Buckingham."[36] Anne

blushed, and unfurled her fan to cover her confusion.

Chambéry, meantime, capitulated to the royal arms during the sojourn of the Cardinal at Lyons, much to the secret triumph of Louis. The campaign in Savoy prospered; place after place surrendered, as during the previous invasion of the duchy by Henri Quatre. The health of the King, however, gave way before the excitement and fatigue to which he was exposed. He fell ill at St. Jean de Maurienne; from which place his Majesty, at the earnest entreaty of his physicians, returned to Lyons, leaving the further conduct of the war to Richelieu, Schomberg, Crequi, and Bassompierre. Louis' disorder was bilious fever of very aggravated description. The weakness and depression of the King increased; and Marie de' Medici beheld her son restored, as she hoped, to her maternal influence. Melancholy, irritable at the slightest proposal to discuss or transact state affairs; anxious alone for conference with his confessor, the venerable Père Souffran; and lured only to momentary forgetfulness of his misery by the blue eyes of Marie de Hautefort, Louis was ready to agree to any stipulation or concession rather than debate a point.[37] The hopes of Richelieu's enemies therefore revived; the cabal rallied, and letters of counsel and entreaty poured upon the Queens, that they should now exert their united powers of persuasion to exact from the King a *lettre de cachet* forbidding the return of Richelieu to court, and decreeing his

banishment from the realm. Anne entered with eagerness into the conspiracy, and constantly discussed its details with the Queen-mother and with Vaultier and those interested in the downfall of the minister. The principal persons in the secret were the Princess de Conty, the Lord Keeper Marillac, the Duchesses d'Elbœuf [38] and d'Ornano,[39] the Duchess de Lesdiguières, Madame de Fargis, Bassompierre, and the Duc de Guise and his consort Henriette, heiress of the house of Joyeuse. The Duke of Orleans was also consulted; and an active correspondence was again imprudently instituted between the young Queen and Monsieur. The Spanish ambassador, likewise, seems to have advised Anne to enter again on the perilous course of intrigue which had already entailed such degradation on the royal dignity. As the King's malady increased, the spirit of the caballers became sanguine, and they proceeded to discuss not only the removal of Richelieu from office, but whether his high misdemeanors did not merit retribution. Monsieur counselled the arrest of his Eminence, in which opinion he seems to have consulted the wishes of Marie de' Medici; others proposed that he should be assassinated in camp; another proposal was, that the person of his Eminence should be made over to the Spanish government, to be transported to one of Philip's colonies of the New World! Madame de Fargis, meantime, was employed by the Queen to write epistles and to convey messages. Anne's animosity against the

Cardinal is described as unsurpassed by that of his most bitter political opponent. By the advice, it is said, of Madame de Fargis, prompted by Mirabel the Spanish ambassador, Anne was reckless enough to consent again to the discussion of the policy of her marriage with Monsieur, in case of the speedy decease of Louis.[40] Madame de Fargis, at any rate, was a party to this correspondence; as there is no doubt that the project was again submitted to Monsieur, with the assent and full knowledge of Anne of Austria. The prospect of being deprived of the queenly diadem of France had inexpressible bitterness for Anne of Austria, who certainly had no reason to review either with pleasure or with triumph the events of her married life. In this interval she had suffered as a princess and a wife; her husband had openly showed alienation and dislike—wrongs, she had attempted to avenge by culpable intrigues which had heaped upon her disgrace and privations. The crown matrimonial of France, however, seems to have borne a superlative charm for all the princesses of Hapsburg, and they clung to its glittering honours amid contumely and neglect. Eleanor of Austria, Elizabeth of Austria, Anne of Austria, Marie Theresa of Austria, and Marie Antoinette of Austria, were women, all distinguished for personal and mental charms; but their married life was fraught with domestic and political misfortune; and they failed personally to adapt themselves, either to the sovereigns their respective husbands, or to the manners and

traditions of the land of their adoption. In the case of Anne of Austria, absolute dislike existed between Louis XIII. and herself, in addition to the absence of personal sympathies and pursuits. The Queen had many undoubted grievances to suffer from the frigid, imperious and vacillating temper of her consort, and from his almost ludicrous dread of dictation, to which, however, no man could have been more subject. She saw her personal charms despised,[41] and her society avoided; her pecuniary means were curtailed from dread of the power which the command of money would have given her to intrigue with foreign courts. To avenge herself for her privations and want of influence, Anne had recklessly sullied her royal dignity: her adventures with Buckingham resounded throughout Europe, and her connivance in the conspiracy of Chalais had greatly redounded to her discredit; while it must be confessed that few husbands could have pardoned the treachery and indelicacy of her overtures to Monsieur in case of her own widowhood and his accession to the throne of France.

The precarious condition of Louis' health renewed Anne's political anxieties. On the 30th of the month of September 1630, the disease presented so unfavourable an aspect that his Majesty's physicians gave up their hope of saving his life. An abscess had formed on the liver; the sufferings of Louis were intense, and his strength rapidly failed. Marie de' Medici never left the bedside of the King except when he was engaged

with Souffran, his confessor.[42] During the intervals of his relief from pain, Marie extorted from the King a solemn promise, or, as is stated by some contemporaries, his oath, that in case of his recovery he would dismiss Richelieu. Anne also showed herself assiduous in the sick chamber. On the 1st of October the physicians informed the King that his recovery was hopeless. Louis received the tidings with resignation, and requested the sacraments of the Church. Mass was celebrated by the Cardinal de Lyons, in the presence of the Queens;[43] at the end of the service Louis caused himself to be raised on his couch, and addressing those present, said: "I grieve that I am too weak to speak to you all—I can only ask you to pardon any wrong that I have committed. I wish the same prayer to be made to all my subjects. Le Père Souffran will tell you all that I would add, if strength permitted me."[44] He then beckoned to the Queen to approach his bed, when he bade Anne farewell and embraced her. All persons then retired, leaving the King with his surgeons and his confessor. The Queens betook themselves, as it was said, to prayer; Marie de' Medici especially professing to be overwhelmed with grief and consternation.

On this day Bassompierre returned from a special mission to Monsieur at Orleans, and obtained immediate audience of the Queens, Anne and Marie. The Marshal brought messages from Monsieur to his mother, referring to the measures which he considered advisable in case of the

demise of Louis, and of his own accession. Amongst other directions, Marie was instructed to command the arrest of the Cardinal minister; who was known to be on his road from the camp to Lyons—a journey which he had undertaken after receiving certain intelligence of the precarious condition of the King. What message Bassompierre was intrusted with to Queen Anne never transpired; Monsieur had a salutary remembrance of the peril incurred in the affair of Chalais, and seems to have coldly responded to her Majesty's overtures. Indeed, Anne had lost much in his regard and esteem by her late pertinacious opposition to his union with Marie de Gonzague. Richelieu, meantime, had been warned of the intrigues concocting against his power, and perhaps against his life, by the zeal of M. de St. Simon,[45] a gentleman whom he had a little time previously recommended for service in the royal household on the displacement of personages which occurred after the execution of Chalais. This St. Simon had quietly insinuated himself in the good graces of Louis, by his modest demeanour and apparent indifference to politics. "On my arrival in Paris from my English ambassage," writes Bassompierre, in 1627, "I found that Barradas[46] had been dismissed, and that his place [in the King's chamber] was given to a young boy of pitiful aspect, and still more sorry wit, of the name of St. Simon." "You have heard that Barradas has been dismissed," writes the poet Malherbe, December 19, 1627; "we

have in his place a Sieur de St. Simon. The King presented him on Wednesday last to the Queen his mother ; he is a young boy of eighteen." The King first showed favour to St. Simon because the latter brought him accurate news of the hunts holden on the royal domain ; and he was also a good rider, and was careful of his Majesty's horses. St. Simon, who possessed the shrewd discrimination which distinguished his celebrated son, perceiving that his fortune rested neither in the hands of the Queens, nor even in the favour of his royal master, attached himself to Richelieu, and served the minister by the accuracy of his reports and the vigilance of his warnings. From the latter, therefore, Richelieu received report of the activity of the cabal plotting his overthrow, and immediately set out to confront and neutralize the danger. Orders had been issued by Marie de' Medici to refuse entrance into the King's chamber to M. le Cardinal. On Richelieu's arrival in Lyons, however, one of those miraculous revivals had occurred in the condition of the King which had so often destroyed the projects of Monsieur and his clique. Louis peremptorily asked to see his minister, of whose presence in Lyons he was apprised by St. Simon and by his confessor Souffran.[47] The unexpected turn in the King's malady caused great affright and consternation, and a conference was holden in the chamber of Marie de' Medici to decide on the steps to be adopted. The Queen-mother dwelt on the solemn promise made her by the King to

dismiss his minister—Louis having stipulated only, that peace might first be re-established in Germany; also between France and the Empire, by the concession of the rights of the Duke of Mantua. The Marshal de Marillac, nevertheless, advised that the death of the minister should now be compassed, and offered to strike the blow; his brother, the Lord Keeper, counselled the Cardinal's immediate exile to his diocese of Luçon; Bassompierre his arrest and imprisonment in the Bastille; the Queen-mother declared herself in favour of a sentence of banishment; an award stated to be likewise approved by the Duke of Orleans. Anne demanded the exile of the minister, whom she denounced as the great obstacle to a cordial understanding between the courts of France and Spain.[48] This conference was scarcely over before all its details were fully known to Richelieu; and afterwards, in the coming period of his unquestioned power, he is said to have retaliated on the wily plotters their own award on himself. The same evening the King passed through another dangerous crisis of his malady, and for some hours all again was agitation and panic. Believing that his end approached, Louis sent his confessor, Souffran, to his consort, to ask in his name pardon for all the trials and possible provocations of her married life. "But this august princess," records the venerable father, "took to weeping and shrieking[49] in such frantic emotion, when I opened my mission, and seemed on the point of fainting, so that I could not

conclude all that I wished to impart to her Majesty. Prayers were diligently offered for the King's recovery night and day; and the Holy Sacrament was exposed on the altars of all the churches in Lyons." Anne's hysterical tears doubtless flowed from extreme suspense, and from the agony of fear which assailed her at the presence of the minister; being conscious of the equivocal character of her correspondence with M. d'Orléans. The same evening, and during a paroxysm of the King's disorder, when all persons present round his Majesty's couch believed that respiration so laboured must soon cease, Richelieu sent for Bassompierre, who was colonel of the Swiss guards, and humbly requested him to bring over the officers of that regiment to his service, so that in the event of the King's death he might reckon on a faithful military escort to the frontier.[50] The Cardinal wept and assumed his most beseeching demeanour. Bassompierre, as indeed it was his duty to do, listened with gravity; and replied, that his oath of fealty forbade him to divert the services of the royal guards, even for a temporary purpose; but that M. le Cardinal, in the event which he anticipated, must submit himself to Queen Marie de' Medici, who, he was informed, would assume the direction of affairs until the arrival of the new king from Orleans.[51] Richelieu dismissed the Marshal with a little salutation full of resignation, and prepared himself for the coming event. His niece, Madame de Combalet, quitted Lyons during the night, taking

with her many valuable effects appertaining to her uncle, while the Cardinal himself made rapid preparation for flight. Every one avoided the fallen minister excepting the newly married Duchess de Bouillon, sister of the late Constable de Luynes, who offered to Richelieu the shelter of her husband's stronghold of Sédan. At six o'clock on the following morning the bells of all the churches of the town rang jubilant peals; the altars were adorned, and the gorgeous aisles of St. Jean de Lyons at mid-day echoed to the notes of "Te Deum Laudamus"—the night of suspense was passed, and Louis le Juste was restored to his people! The breaking of another internal tumour had brought the King to the verge of the tomb; but Louis slowly revived from the deep syncope of exhaustion, feeble but free from pain, and comforted by the favourable verdict of his physicians, who now answered for the life of their royal patient.[52] The court at Lyons fell again at the feet of Richelieu; the Queens nursed their wrath, and took comfort in the solemn pledge which they had extorted. A dreadful misgiving, however, seized the young Queen, that possibly the Cardinal was in possession of the secret of her correspondence with Monsieur, which knowledge he might impart to the King. The recovery of Louis was marvellously rapid; on the 14th of October he removed for change of air to the Château de Bellecour,[53] near to Roanne, and soon continued his journey to Paris. Marie, meantime, had been laid up for a few days at Lyons with a

swelled knee, and did not accompany her son to Bellecour. Louis had urgently prayed his mother to hide their determination to dispense with the Cardinal's services, until after the arrival of the court in Paris. The King piqued himself on his powers of dissimulation, and was even proud to be compared in crafty address to Charles IX. Richelieu, under pretext of state business, remained with the Queens, and even attended them to Paris, travelling in the same boat; so important did the Cardinal deem it to prevent further communications between Anne and the Duke of Orleans. The personage who at this period played the part of spy in the household of the young Queen does not appear; probably the Cardinal's agent was Madame de la Flotte Hauterive, a lady who, by dint of solicitation, and by the bright eyes of her grand-daughter, Marie de Hautefort, had recently succeeded in obtaining her nomination as *gouvernante* of Queen Anne's maids of honour.[54] Madame de la Flotte originally had visited Paris to sue in person a cause pending before the Parliament of Paris, which involved the whole of her little patrimony. She waited upon the powerful minister, authorised by a passport to his presence from Madame de Combalet and accompanied by her grand-daughter. The acute powers of observation and of resolve possessed by his petitioner were not lost on the Cardinal; the charming face and dignity of demeanour of the young girl, her companion, confirmed Richelieu's prepossession. The widow

quitted the presence of his Eminence flattered, and moved by strange ambitious anticipations. The suit was in the course of a few days decided in her favour, and Mademoiselle de Hautefort was presented by Madame de Combalet to the Princess de Conty, who, captivated by her lovely face, took her that same evening in her coach to the fashionable promenade, Le Cours de la Reine, and introduced her to the Queen-mother. Marie de Hautefort was subsequently enrolled amongst Marie's maids, and was lodged in the Luxembourg, while her grandmother, who was still handsome, entered the service of the politic minister, and was eventually placed by him in the Louvre in the important, though subordinate, office of governess of the maids of honour of her Majesty Queen Anne.

On the arrival of the Queens in Paris,[55] the hostile cabal eagerly greeted their Majesties, who returned triumphant in the possession of the King's promise to exile his minister. The peace, meantime, upon which Louis had based his assent, was on the eve of accomplishment. The French envoys, le Père Joseph and M. de Brulart, wrung from the fears of the Emperor a recognition of the rights of the Duke de Nevers to the ducal throne of Mantua. On the 13th of October 1630, the treaty was signed between his Imperial Majesty Ferdinand II. and the King of France in the town of Ratisbon. Casale was ceded to the Duke of Mantua, and was to be evacuated by the Spanish garrison; and the King engaged no longer to

oppose the election of the Imperial prince as King of the Romans; or to sanction the designs of Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden, who, in alliance with the deposed Elector Palatine King of Bohemia and other Protestant princes of Germany, threatened the empire with sanguinary warfare. The reluctance of the King to disgrace his minister, nevertheless, was manifest; in the course of a few weeks, Richelieu's ascendency had been confirmed, and the bewilderment of the King amid the accumulations of state business accruing on the termination of the war, was painfully conspicuous. The Queen-mother, meantime, continued to besiege the King with reproaches for his tardy fulfilment of his solemn promise. In vain Louis sought to pacify his mother, and to persuade her even into a temporary reconciliation with the Cardinal. He explained the urgency of his affairs, the dearth of able statesmen, his own fears and presentiments; and finally, implored her to pardon Richelieu, to accept a seat in the council of state, and to act in conjunction with a prelate so shrewd, faithful and competent to exalt the nation and to maintain the royal prerogatives. Marie responded to her son's appeal by a rude negative: "Either M. le Cardinal leaves the court, or I abandon your Majesty! What! you hesitate to give this just satisfaction to your mother, and prefer an insolent churchman, who will finally drive your people to revolt, as he has already rendered your court a desert?"[56] The young Queen added her

entreaties, and besought her husband to conciliate the Princes, to give due preponderance to the Queen his mother, and to reconcile himself sincerely with the king her brother and with M. d'Orléans,—all which might be achieved by the disgrace of M. le Cardinal. Richelieu, meantime, conducted himself with consummate prudence. He sent his niece from Paris, and commanded that his most valuable effects in the Palais Cardinal should be packed; while he constantly alluded in public to his probable departure, and dismissal from office; and made parade of recommending certain persons, whose abilities, he thought, might serve the state, to the various chiefs over departments of the government. Daily he presented himself in the antechamber of Marie de' Medici, and of Anne of Austria. The doors of the Luxembourg Palace were closed against him; the young Queen, however—moved perhaps by her dread of what the Cardinal might betray—granted him occasional audience. The meek deportment of his minister touched the King—most vividly, perhaps, when Richelieu presented himself in the royal closet laden with state papers, despatches, minutes from the provinces, reports from the disaffected districts of the realm, ecclesiastical edicts, and summaries of the doings of those encroaching personages, MM. de la Cour du Parlement; all of which he now made parade of laying before his royal master for perusal and signature. Louis yawned, and irritably pushed aside the obnoxious documents. On

one of these occasions he beckoned to his new favourite St. Simon, who was occupied in the antechamber in finishing off a trifling toy put together by the King. Louis rose from his chair, and, followed by St. Simon, approached the window. "Let us stay here in peace awhile," said his Majesty listlessly, "*et puis ennuyons-nous, ennuyons-nous, ennuyons-nous!*"[57] Fresh political complications menaced the newly-signed peace of Ratisbon, raised by the clever Richelieu and his clever agent the Capuchin Joseph. The spirit of Louis died within him at the bare contemplation of the diplomacy and intrigue impending; to vanquish which, as Richelieu made his Majesty clearly understand, his own services, or those of Marie de' Medici and her son d'Orléans, were indispensable. On the 9th day of November, therefore, his Majesty paid an early visit to the Luxembourg, to explain to the Queen-mother his political necessities, his personal wishes, and, above all, to intimate his determination respecting his minister. He found the Queen more irate than ever against the Cardinal, and incensed at his dissensions with the Lord-Keeper Marillac, which betokened the prompt dismissal of that functionary. She declared Richelieu to be an unprincipled trickster, the hollowness of whose apparent devotion to herself she could no longer doubt. Louis listened to her Majesty's tirades in sullen silence, utterly confounded by Marie's passion and vehemence. "This said Cardinal lies in word and deed. Has he not written to our son d'Orléans,

that if he will abandon our interests, his political grievances shall be redressed ? Has he not written to Messieurs de Vendôme that we desire their eternal captivity ? M. le Prince, also, has been informed by this mendacious slanderer, that our enmity is the cause of his continued exile." [58] Whilst their Majesties were thus in high altercation, Richelieu arrived at the Luxembourg. His opportune visit had doubtless been concerted with the King, who had commanded him to make every submission requisite to pacify Queen Marie. The ushers on duty had refused, as usual, to pass his Eminence on to the royal cabinet. The Cardinal, however, went to the chapel, and from thence boldly traversed the private corridor which led to the Queen's apartments, and thus gained access to the room in which Marie and her son were conferring.[59] The Cardinal rapped at the door, which was opened by the King, who took the hand of his minister, and presented him to Queen Marie. " Madame, you were speaking of me, your humble servant, who deprecates your anger and prays for pardon." Marie, with a gesture of disdain, turned from the Cardinal, who had fallen on his knees at her feet. " Behold, mon fils, this wicked and false traitor ! His intention is to take your crown, and give it to M. le Comte de Soissons, when the latter shall have espoused la Veuve Combalet ! Are you unnatural and undutiful enough to prefer such a varlet to your mother ? Sire, spurn from you this destroyer of your domestic concord, the bitter foe of your

mother, your wife, and your brother!" As the Queen-mother had now worked herself into an extremity of passion, Louis retired; but made a sign to the Cardinal to remain.[60] Richelieu again tried to deprecate the wrath of his once confiding patroness, but Marie drove him from her presence with reproaches and by protestations of never-ending enmity. The same evening Louis again sought his mother and found her in conference with the Princess de Conty,[61] a determined opponent of Richelieu's policy. A second parley ensued, in which the King was so moved by the tears and entreaties of his mother, that he again solemnly renewed his promise to dismiss Richelieu. His Majesty then retired, announcing his intention to depart for Versailles, from which palace a letter of dismissal and exile should be addressed to the minister.

Meantime panic prevailed amongst the friends and adherents of Richelieu. That much-enduring lady, Madame de Combalet, again received notice to pack up her effects, and await the final resolution of her uncle, who contemplated a retreat to Pontoise, and from thence to Havre de Grâce. The following day the King made fresh efforts to subdue the obduracy of the Queen-mother. He prayed her to consent that the presidency of the council might at least remain with the minister for six weeks longer. "My affairs absolutely demand this concession. In fact, Madame, I have commanded my generals in Italy to hazard a battle if Casale is not surrendered, as stipulated

by the peace of Ratisbon." Marie wept, but made no sign of relenting. "Madame," resumed his Majesty, eloquent in the defence of a minister who monopolized all the toils of government, "Madame, I entreat that, at least for this period, you will speak more condescendingly to M. le Cardinal; in truth, he is indispensable to me; you are too prejudiced, too violent. M. le Cardinal serves me faithfully. I shall never recover from the grief and chagrin which you occasion me!" Marie, however, refused to listen to her son's expostulations; and peremptorily insisted on the departure of the minister. "Mon fils," said her Majesty, "either the Cardinal or I myself leave Paris within the next few hours. Choose, mon fils, between a mother who loves you, and a traitor who betrays you and yours!" Madame de Combalet, at this instant, chancing to send by one of her Majesty's ladies a petition to make a farewell visit, Marie declined to grant the audience. Louis, therefore, again took leave of his mother, despairing to move her purpose. At the Louvre he entered his chamber, and, throwing himself on a couch, remained some time in meditation. "St. Simon," at length exclaimed his Majesty with a sigh, "St. Simon, did you ever hear or witness before such a scene? My mother is implacable." "Sire, I confess I thought myself in another world on hearing your Majesty so thwarted! Nevertheless, you are our master; it is for you alone to decide!"[62] Louis rose; the shadow of wrathful suspicion fell which so often darkened his youth-

ful features, and his lips trembled with passion. "I am master, as you say; who shall presume to judge between me and my faithful minister? I will show them all that I am master!" The King again fell into taciturn silence. St. Simon had heard enough, however, to encourage him to send word to the Cardinal de la Valette to counsel Richelieu to avoid too precipitate a departure, as matters might still be adjusted. The King quitted Paris early on the following morning, St. Martin's Day, 11th of November 1630, attended by St. Simon, Beringhen, the Marquis de Mortemar, the Dukes de Montmorency and de Créqui, and other officers of his household. Marie de' Medici on the preceding evening had announced her intention to attend her son to Versailles. It was the Queen's habit to take a cup of broth in the morning before she left her bed, and to sleep afterwards for an hour; her Majesty, therefore, failed to rise in time to accompany the King. At 10 o'clock Richelieu, being apprized of the departure of the King, determined again to wait upon Marie. "Monsieur," said he to Bassompierre in the guard-room of the Luxembourg, "you will not long be troubled to salute, or present arms, to a disgraced and unfortunate man like myself!" The Marshal made courteous reply, and attended Richelieu, cap in hand, to the door of the chamber where Marie and Anne were closeted together in earnest conference.

St. Simon, meantime, mindful of the benefits conferred upon him by his patron, ventured again

to rouse Louis from his depression by interceding for Richelieu, whose crime, he said, was "in having dared to repress the treasonable enterprises of the Queens and of M. d'Orléans; the latter wishing to usurp the royal power, if his projects had not even a wider scope as was asserted by M. de Chalais." "Your Majesty's glory and reputation are involved in not weakly sacrificing to feminine vengeance a minister so loyal, and able!" St. Simon then affirmed that M. de Richelieu was in possession of an important secret, the disclosure of which depended on his remaining in power, as its betrayal would in all probability prove fatal to a private personage. Louis listened with eager interest; so much so, that St. Simon despatched an express to the Cardinal de la Valette, advising his Eminence to set out without delay with Richelieu for Versailles, but carefully to prevent his intention from transpiring.[63] This transporting intelligence greeted Richelieu on his return from the Luxembourg, where he had been again, vainly to plead for reconciliation at the feet of Marie de' Medici and of Anne of Austria. Some inkling of the King's vacillation and of a probable turn of fortune in the minister's favour actuated some of the more prudent members of the court. Richelieu found his hôtel crowded with personages assembled to offer him respectful condolence. Amongst these personages was M. de Châteauneuf, then the friend of Richelieu, and Lord-Keeper elect after the fall of M. de Marillac, an event resolved upon

by the Cardinal. Châteauneuf presented to the Cardinal a letter from the Duchesse de Chevreuse, who had been temporarily won over to the side of Richelieu by his patronage of Châteauneuf, with whom she was in confidential correspondence. M. le Jais, and the Cardinal de la Valette, MM. de Meilleraye and de Brézé, likewise joined the assemblage.[64] The news from Versailles soon brought Richelieu *tête-à-tête* with Louis XIII. who shed tears, and threw himself on the neck of the Cardinal. Louis then heard with indignation the history of the intrigues at Lyons ; the details of Queen Anne's correspondence with Monsieur, when he (the King) was supposed to be lying on the eve of dissolution ; of the *empressement* shown by Marie de' Medici to act for her son d'Orléans ; and of the orders transmitted by Monsieur from Orleans, through M. de Bassompierre. " The King then exposed to M. le Cardinal all the diabolical things attributed to him by the Queen-mother, with all the artifices by which she hoped to persuade her son to remove him from the conduct of affairs." " M. le Cardinal," exclaimed Louis, " the Queen my mother is instigated by a few turbulent spirits to persecute you. I will, however, control such ! It suffices, Monseigneur, I am content with your services. Stay with me ! I give you my royal word to protect you against their cabals." Louis then, with that mingled majesty and decision, which on rare occasions he could assume, gave his hand to his minister, and leading him into an adjacent gallery, where the

gentlemen waited, presented him to the assembled court.[65]

In Paris, the coterie of Queen Marie continued jubilant over her supposed triumph. On the evening of the 11th, their Majesties held a reception, which was attended by many of Richelieu's friends, who, ignorant of the revolution in their patron's favour, thought it politic to conciliate the power supposed to be in the ascendant. These persons received no signs of recognition from their Majesties. The following day, November 12th, the news of the great counter-plot at Versailles burst upon the astonished courtiers, and convulsed the Queen-mother with despair and indignation. The first intimation was the arrival of an order of arrest issued by the King and countersigned by Richelieu, against the Lord-Keeper Marillac, who was at once seized and conveyed under a strong guard to a house which he possessed in Lorraine. The seals were given to M. de Châteauneuf, a personage who was the confidential friend and ally of the exiled Duchess de Chevreuse. The King despatched the secretary of state de Brienne, to inform the Queen-mother of Richelieu's re-establishment in office, and to pray her Majesty's consent and approval. On the 20th Louis removed to St. Germain, and summoned the Queen his consort and Madame de Fargis to meet him there. Anne obeyed in trembling uncertainty. M. d'Orléans also received a similar order, which he obeyed, as he thought it expedient to make friends with the Cardinal;

especially as he knew from trusty sources, that Richelieu had been informed of the matrimonial overtures which had been again hazarded by the young Queen. Monsieur, therefore, paid a visit in great state to Richelieu, attended by twelve gentlemen, and promised him favour and reconciliation. "Thus," says a contemporary, "the great day of St. Martin des Dupes passed without effect whatever; Queen Marie, compelled to tolerate the Cardinal, refused a conference, or any token of amity whatever. '*Je prendrai mon temps; je le trouverai, et feray ce que je veux! Dieu ne paye pas toutes les semaines, mais enfin il paye!*' said her Majesty." On the 29th of November, the Queen and her son met. Louis greeted his mother shyly but respectfully, and asked, as a favour, that she would continue to give him the benefit of her presence at the council, and to aid his minister Richelieu by her great experience. Marie wrathfully replied, "that she would never voluntarily see M. le Cardinal; that she would rather die than assist him with her counsels!" Another day, at St. Germain, M. de Nogent, one of the gentlemen of Queen Anne's chamber, but a secret partisan of Richelieu, suddenly entered the saloon of his mistress, and found Anne in tearful conference with the Queen-mother, the Marquis de Mirabel the Spanish ambassador, and her physician Vaultier. When Nogent entered he overheard the young Queen exclaim, "Ah, what beautiful and consolatory sentences one finds in the Psalms of David! My spirit revives when I

read such words as, ' Qui seminat in lachrymis, in exultatione metat.' " [66] Nogent immediately reported what he had heard to the Cardinal, who was at St. Germain. The *entente* between the Queens again renewed Richelieu's terrors. " Bonnevil, about the 12th of December, informed the King and M. le Cardinal, that he believed there was a cabal offensive and defensive formed by the two Queens and Monsieur, the object of which was to ruin his Eminence by the diabolical lies and testimony of Madame de Fargis and others," is the record entered by the pen of Richelieu in his Diary of the exciting events of this crisis in his history.

Marie at length showed signs of relenting, fearing that hostilities might terminate by her total exclusion from affairs of state. On Christmas day, she intimated to the King her willingness to meet Richelieu in council, provided that the members met in the apartments of the young Queen ; as, wrote she, " I cannot yet resolve to receive M. de Richelieu at the Luxembourg." [67] To humour the exacting spirit of Marie de' Medici, Louis had hitherto assembled the privy council in an apartment of the Luxembourg. Further conditions were attempted by Marie : she demanded the pardon of Marillac ; a promise of protection for her own partisans ; also an assurance that Monsieur should not be permitted to marry without her permission. All these conditions were peremptorily declined, as the Queen-mother continued to demonstrate a spirit essentially hostile. Monsieur met the

minister in the court of the Louvre, and responded to his obeisance by turning his back on Richelieu. Marie also made a *razzia* in her household, and dismissed *en masse* every person related to the minister, or supposed to be favourable to his policy: moreover, she sent to demand from Richelieu his key of office as superintendent of her household;[68] and commanded him to restore to her the Hôtel du Petit Luxembourg—a gift which she had made him in the palmy days of his favour.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

[1] Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de France, t. 4. Charles had given his wife four ladies of honour—the Duchess of Buckingham, the Marchioness of Hamilton, and the Countesses of Denbigh and Carlisle, with whom the French ladies were perpetually at feud.

[2] "Les dames et les autres étrangères reçoivent ordre de se préparer à retourner en France dans vingt-quatre heures.—Le Roi les va voir à l'hôtel Sommerset, leur déclare sa volonté, et leur fait quelques présents. On les embarque au plutôt. Henriette, désolée, ecrit en France. —Personnages Illustres, t. 4.

[3] Charles d'Angennes, Seigneur de Fargis. He was ambassador in Spain from the year 1620 to 1624.

[4] Françoise de Silly, wife of Philippe Emmanuel de Gondy, Général des Galères, subsequently priest of the Order de l'Oratoire. He died in 1662.

[5] "Le Cardinal (de Richelieu) donne des rendez-vous à Madame de Fargis chez le Cardinal de Berulle, à Fontainebleau et ailleurs, de peur de faire trop d'éclat si c'était chez lui-même; et aussi à cause que Berulle passoit pour un béat."—Tallemant, t. 2.

[6] Catherine Le Voyer de Lignerolles, wife of René du Bellay, Seigneur de la Flotte Hauterive; her daughter, Renée du Bellay, was the mother of Marie de Hautefort.

[7] "Elle éblouit, séduisit, entraîna l'impétueux et aventureux Charles IV."—Cousin, Vie de Madame de Chevreuse.

[8] Henry Duke of Lorraine had two daughters, co-heiresses, Nicole and Claude. Nicole married Charles IV., her cousin, eldest son of the Count de Vaudemont, third brother of the duke her father. Claude married François, younger brother of Charles IV., and their posterity continued the ducal line of Lorraine. Claude was the mother of the famous Duke

Charles V. of Lorraine, who never possessed his duchy, then confiscated by the French. He became the brother-in-law of the Emperor Leopold.

[9] Bassompierre : Journal de ma Vie.—" En ce temps Madame accoucha d'une fille, contre l'attente et desir de leurs Majestés et de Monsieur, qui eussent plutôt demandé un fils ; et elle, étant demeurée malade de sa couche, mourut peu de temps après."—Mém. de Mademoiselle de Montpensier, t. i. Madame and Queen Anne had lived in much mutual coldness, and dislike. " Madame se regardoit comme la future reine," and exacted obsequious homage.

[10] Anne Louise Marie d'Orléans, la Grande Mademoiselle.

[11] Jeanne de Harlay, Marquise de St. George.

[12] " Je lui fis entendre qu'on ne le recevrait pas, et envoyai Montague en toute diligence vers lui."—Bassompierre, Journal. " Buckingham pretend se servir de l'occasion des brouilleries qu'il cause lui-même, afin de voir la Reine Anne d'Autriche, dont il se declarait l'amant."—Mém. du Duc de Rohan.

[13] " Puisqu'on refuse de me recevoir en France comme un ambassadeur qui veut porter la paix, j'y entrerai malgré les François, en général d'armée qui porte la guerre ! " retorted the Duke of Buckingham.—Mém. du Duc de Rohan.

[14] " La Reine me commanda d'écrire au Duc, pour lui faire savoir que sa venue ne lui sera pas agréable."—Bassompierre.

[15] Bassompierre, Journal de ma Vie ; Tallemant, Vie du Duc d'Orléans ; Le Vassor, Histoire du Règne de Louis XIII.

[16] Hume, Reign of Charles I. ; Siège de La Rochelle, Archives Curieuses, t. 3, deuxième série.

[17] Tallemant Des Reaux ; Le Cardinal de Richelieu.

[18] " Cette chambre était fort dorée ; le plancher était couvert de tapis de Perse, et il y avait une espèce d'autel où était le portrait de la Reine, avec plusieurs flambeaux allumés."

[19] The Rochellois, who had received no previous hints of this expedition, refused to admit the English succours into their town, on pretence that they could not take such a material resolution without the concurrence of the other Protestants, with whom they were associated ; but in reality they were afraid of their allies, suspecting that Soubise and Blancas had agreed to betray the place into the hands of the English.—Hume.

[20] Tallemant, Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu.

[21] Siège de La Rochelle, Archives Curieuses. Hume, Reign of Charles I. ; Bassompierre, Journal de ma Vie.

[22] Walter, second son of the first Earl of Manchester, a Roman Catholic, and subsequently abbot of St. Martin de Pontoise. Montague possessed much influence in the councils of France under Marie de' Medici and Anne of Austria. He died, 1670, at the abbey of St. Martin, and was interred in the church of l'Hôpital des Incurables, Paris.

[23] La Porte, Mém., p. 304.

[24] Page 304 et seq., Mémoires, La Porte, Pettitot, vol. 54.

[25] Bassompierre, Journal de ma Vie ; Siège de La Rochelle, Archives Curieuses. Aubéry, Mém. pour servir à l'Histoire de M. le Cardinal de Richelieu. "Le Roi donna ordre exprès au Duc d'Angoulême et aux Maréchaux de Bassompierre et de Schomberg, d'obéir au Cardinal comme à sa propre personne."—Richard, Vie du Père Joseph.

[26] It has been asserted that Anne of Austria was compelled by the King and by Richelieu to exert her influence over Buckingham, for the welfare of her country, by writing a letter to the Duke, in which she commanded him not to set sail before a period which she indicated.

[27] Hume ; Thomson's Life of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham ; Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII. ; Rapin, History of the Reign of Charles I.

[28] Buckingham often spoke of his conquests over royal ladies in terms highly irreverential. Madame de Chevreuse told the celebrated coadjutor archbishop of Paris, De Retz, that the Duke said to her one day, "J'ai aimé trois reines, et j'ai été obligé de les gourmer (to cuff them) toutes trois." "De vivre avec la reine (Anne d'Autriche) d'une manière un peu galante et rude, à deux faces, de l'humeur dont je connois la reine," said Madame de Chevreuse.

[29] The charms of the Duchess de Chevreuse had much power over Richelieu. Madame de Motteville says, "que ce ministre, malgré la rigueur qu'il avait eue pour elle, ne l'avait jamais haïe ; et que sa beauté avait eu des charmes pour lui."—Motteville, p. 62, t. i.

[30] Capefigue, Vie d'Anne d'Autriche—Archives de Simancas, § 471. MS. quoted by M. Capefigue.

[31] Journal de Cardinal de Richelieu, qu'il a fait durant le grand orage de la cour, ez années 1630 à 1644. Tiré des Mémoires qu'il a écrit de sa main.—Amsterdam, 1664.

[32] Philip IV. and Elizabeth de Bourbon, eldest daughter of Henri Quatre and Marie de' Medici.

[33] Journal de ma Vie, Bassompierre, année 1629. Aubéry, Mém. pour l'Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. The Queen-mother, when she first saw the Cardinal after his return, asked after his health. "Je me porte mieux que beaucoup de gens qui sont ici ne voudroient!" replied Richelieu. Marie, surprised, then turned the conversation by a jest on the Cardinal de Berulle. "Je voudrois bien," interposed Richelieu, "être aussi avant dans vos bonnes grâces, comme est celui dont vous vous moquez." En quittant Marie de' Medici, Richelieu alla chez le Roi, et lui demanda permission de se retirer du ministère.

[34] Marie de' Medici was offered, but refused, the regency of the realm during the King's absence, in order to follow her son, and more effectually subvert the influence of Richelieu.

[35] Journal du Cardinal de Richelieu, qu'il a fait durant le grand orage de la cour ès années 1630 jusques à 1631. "La Reine dit à Bullion qu'elle attendoit son temps, auquel le Roy ouvriroit les yeux et les oreilles ; et qu'elle mourrait plutôt que de voir le Cardinal. Vaultier a aussi dit, que la Reine espéroit que Dieu la vengeroit."

[36] Tallemant, Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu, Hist. 66.

[37] Vittorio Siri, Mem. Recondite, t. 3.—Bassompierre.

[38] Henriette Catherine, légitimée de France, daughter of Henri IV. and Gabrielle d'Estrées.

[39] Renée de Lorraine, daughter of the Duke de Mayenne, chief of the League. Her husband, the Duke d'Ornano, was a prince of the house of Sforza Santa Fiore.

[40] Dreux du Radier, Vie de la Reine Anne d'Autriche ; Siri, Mem. Recondite ; Aubéry, Mém. du Cardinal de Richelieu.

[41] "Elle avoit les mains parfaites, et ne les regardoit pas sans une secrète complaisance."—Monville, Vie de Mignart, who painted the portrait of the Queen in 1659.

[42] Récit du Maladie du Roy à la ville de Lyons, par le Rév. P. Souffran, son Confesseur ordinaire. Lyons, Vermonet, 1630.—Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII.

[43] "Monsieur le Cardinal de Lyons dit la messe dans la chambre, et le communia."

[44] "Ces paroles attendrirent si fort le cœur de ceux qui étoient présents, que tous, la Reine, messieurs les Cardinaux, et autres officiers de sa maison, se jettant à genoux, pleurants et sanglottants, crièrent : 'C'est à nous, Sire, de vous demander pardon. Pardonnez-nous, Sire ! '"—Récit du Père Souffran. "Ego testis oculatus et auritus," testifies the reverend Jesuit.

[45] Claude Duc de St. Simon, born 1606 ; married Diane de Budos, by whom he had one daughter, married to the Duc de Brissac ; for his second wife, M. de St. Simon espoused Charlotte de l'Aubespine, who was the mother of the celebrated Duc de St. Simon.

[46] A young cavalier of Burgundy, who succeeded to brief favour after the death of De Luynes, whose lineage appears to have been almost unknown. The reason of his disgrace is thus recounted by Malherbe : "Un jour le Roi par caresse, lui jeta quelques gouttes d'eau de fleur d'orange au visage dans la chambre de la Reine. Barradas se mit dans une telle colère, qu'il sauta sur les mains du Roi, lui arracha le petit pot où étoit l'eau, et le lui lanca aux pieds."

[47] Récit du Père Souffran.

[48] Bassompierre : "On rapporte qu'il y eut une grande assemblée à ce sujet, chez Madame de Fargis ; et que le Cardinal entendit tout au moyen d'une surbacane, et que chacun subit plus tard le traitement qu'il voulait faire éprouver au ministre."—Notice sur Richelieu ; Mém. de Richelieu, depuis 1610 jusqu'à 1620.

[49] "Cette princesse jeta de si hauts cris, et espandit tant de larmes, quand je lui dis cela, qu'elle pensa s'évanouir ; et je ne pus parachever ce que je voulois dire."—Récit du Rév. Père Souffran.

[50] Préface des éditeurs de la première édition des Mémoires de Bassompierre. Cologne, 1665.

[51] Bassompierre is said to have hinted to the Cardinal that he might

obtain his desire by prompt application to M. de Villeroi, Governor of Lyons, through M. de Châteauneuf, cousin-german to Villeroi, and the Cardinal's devoted adherent.

[52] Récit du Rév. P. Souffran, who terminates his interesting narrative with the wish that the King's unexpected recovery "serve à l'amendement de cette cour, qui est maintenant pleine de bonne volonté ; mais connoissant son inconstance je crains que, *venient filii usque ad partum, et non est virtus pariendi.*"

[53] "Maison de Madame de Chaponay."—Bassompierre.

[54] "Un emploi au-dessous d'elle," says Tallemant des Réaux.

[55] "Marie de' Medici descendit au couvent des Carmélites du Faubourg St. Jacques, avant d'aller au Luxembourg. On crut que la perte du ministre fut encore concertée là, entre les deux reines, et Marillac, Garde des Sceaux. Les apologistes de ces princesses, soutiennent qu'on ne s'occupa que de dévotion chez les Carmélites ; et que les deux reines, entrées dans le monastère, n'eut pas un long entretien avec Marillac," etc. etc.—Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de France, pendant les règnes de Henri IV. et de Louis XIII., t. 4.

[56] Journal de M. le Cardinal Duc de Richelieu. The Cardinal relates with considerable complacency all the violent speeches made by the Queen-mother. One day she exclaimed to Bullion, secretary of state, "Je me donnerois plutôt au diable, que je ne me vengeasse ! " Another day, Marie, conversing with a Jesuit of the court, le Père Chrysostom, said that she hated the Cardinal, "pour l'état qu'il avoit mis la France." The Jesuit replied, "que tout le monde estimait le contraire." "Le peuple est une bête ; il ne faut pas prendre garde de ce qu'il dit," replied her Majesty angrily. "Elle dit au roi que j'étais un grand menteur ; et que je lui avait fait signer des papiers pour d'autres."—Journal de Richelieu.

[57] Tallemant des Réaux, Hist. de Louis XIII.

[58] Journal de Richelieu sur les orages de la cour, ès années 1630–1644. "Que dites-vous là, Madame ? La colère vous emporte trop loin," exclaimed the King. "Vous m'affligez si sensiblement que je ne me remettrai jamais du chagrin que vous me causez."—Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de France, t. 4.

[59] Bassompierre, Journal de ma Vie. Louis is said by Bassompierre to have exclaimed with dismay, on seeing his minister, "Le voici ! "

[60] Galerie des Personnages Illustres, etc. etc. ; Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu ; Aubéry ; Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis XIII. ; Leti, Teatro Gallico, t. 1, in 4to ; Dreux du Radier, Vie de Marie de' Medici.

[61] Louise-Marguerite de Lorraine-Guise. After the death of the Prince de Conty, in 1614, she is supposed to have made a secret marriage with Bassompierre.

[62] Galerie des Personnages Illustres, t. 4. The Duc de St. Simon, in his Memoirs, relates : "Il est souvent arrivé à mon père d'être réveillé en sursaut en pleine nuit par un valet de chambre qui tiroit son rideau,

une bougie à la main, ayant derrière lui le Cardinal de Richelieu, qui s'asseyoit sur le lit, en prenant la bougie, s'écriant quelquefois qu'il étoit perdu, et venoit au conseil et au secours de mon père, sur des avis qu'on lui avoit donnés, ou sur les prises qu'il avoit eues avec le Roi."—Mém. t. 1, chap. iii.

[63] "Je ne m'arrêterai point à la fameuse Journée des Dupes," writes the Duc de St. Simon, "où mon père eut le sort du Cardinal Richelieu entre les mains, parceque je l'ai trouvée dans —— (Siri ?), toute telle que mon père me l'a racontée."—Tome i. chap. iii. The name of the historian quoted by St. Simon cannot be deciphered in the MS. of his Mémoires. Vittorio Siri, however (Mem. Recondite), states that he received every detail of La Journée des Dupes from the lips of M. de St. Simon.

[64] Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de France, sous les règnes de Henri IV. et Louis XIII., vol. 4, p. 114, *et seq.* "Le bagage du Cardinal était déjà en chemin sous l'escorte de quelques soldats, et ses mulets allèrent jusqu'à trente-cinq lieux au-delà de Paris, sans entrer dans aucune ville de peur qu'ils ne fussent arrêtés, et que le peuple ne s'avisât de piller le trésor qu'ils portèrent."

[65] "Les Ducs de Montmorency et Créqui, avertis sous mains par St. Simon, vont à Versailles ; mais Bassompierre fut une des plus grandes dupes de cette fameuse journée."

[66] Journal du Cardinal de Richelieu.

[67] "Parceque le dit Cardinal avoit trop de temps à être chez elle en attendant le conseil qu'on ne tiendroit pas toujours dès lors que le Roi seroit entré ; ce qu'elle ne vouloit pas, pour l'aversion qu'elle avoit contre luy ; et la peine que ce luy étoit de le souffrir, et encore rien qui luy appartient."

[68] Marie aggravated this extreme mark of displeasure by sending as her messenger a simple *valet de chambre*, with a verbal message !

CHAPTER V

1630–1631

ANNE OF AUSTRIA AND MADEMOISELLE DE HAUTEFORT

Madame de Fargis, meanwhile, continued to assail the Cardinal de Richelieu, to upbraid him for his ingratitude, and to flay his reputation by her sarcasm. According to Richelieu, she was accessory to all the peril and annoyances which he experienced; exasperating her mistress, Queen Anne, against him, and proving herself the steady ally of M. Vaultier, and the agent of the exiled princes in their attempts to convulse the court. Meantime it was said that the *liaison* which Madame de Fargis retained with the Count de Cramail, and with Beringhen, first *valet de chambre* to the King, was open to grave suspicion; so much so as to render her removal from the household of the Queen advisable. The King, moreover, could not endure the presence of a personage who had acted in accord with his consort throughout her late negotiations with Monsieur; his Majesty, therefore, listened greedily to the defamatory stories in circulation and thereupon resolved on the dismissal of de Fargis.[1] At the same time, Richelieu resolved to forbid the frequent interviews holden between Anne and

the Spanish ambassador. Boutillier was therefore despatched to Mirabel to deliver a formal order from the King forbidding the Marquis from *entrée* to the Louvre except on state festivals ; [2] also it was intimated that for the future when the ambassador wished for audience of Queen Anne such privilege was to be solicited in the prescribed way, notice being given to her Majesty's chamberlain three days previously. The abbess of Val de Grâce, moreover, received a notice not to admit persons within her convent during the abode there of Queen Anne, and to forward to the minister a list of all applicants for audience. The ambassador, in a state of extreme irritation, sought an immediate interview with King Louis to ask reparation for so notable an affront. The King coolly replied, " M. l'Ambassadeur, you are cognisant of the intrigues afloat at my court which deprive me of tranquillity. You ought not, by your frequent audience of her Majesty, to have provoked comment, or to have seemed to sanction and encourage such disorders. It is not my intention to revoke my mandate. I will thank you to inform me whether the King your master would have suffered for a single day at his court the cabals and disquietudes which for years have convulsed mine ? " [3] Richelieu then added that M. de Barrault, his Majesty's ambassador in Spain, was compelled to adhere to the recognised etiquette in his visits to her Catholic Majesty sister of King Louis, and that during the last four months he had never failed to present

himself twice in the week to salute her Catholic Majesty and had not been admitted to audience. Intelligence of these proceedings reached the ear of Anne, who now passed most of her time at the Luxembourg, in the society of the Queen-mother, and was often many days without seeing her husband. Mirabel paid a furtive visit the following day to the Val de Grâce whilst Anne was attending mass in the convent chapel, and succeeded in obtaining brief audience of her Majesty, who was attended by de Fargis, as she quitted the convent. On the 27th Anne sent for M. Boutillier, under-secretary of state. The interview is thus related by the pungent pen of Richelieu in his Diary:[4] "The Queen sent for M. Boutillier, to say that she was informed that some persons were rendering bad offices to Madame de Fargis and that it was intended to dismiss her, that she had, therefore, sent for him to say to me that the greatest pleasure that I could do her was to prevent this; that until now she had been the victim of oppression, but she desired that I should know she would no longer endure such ignominious treatment, and that she was not so miserable and insignificant a personage as not to be able some day to resent her wrongs."[5] Boutillier replied, that he had received no official intimation that the exile of Madame de Fargis was resolved upon. The Queen retorted: "I know it from trustworthy sources: let it suffice." Monsieur also visited Richelieu to intercede for Madame de Fargis at the request of the Queen who was

" stirred with marvellous anger at the insult about to be offered to her." Intercession, however, proved useless; Louis and his minister were resolved upon the exile of the frivolous and intriguing woman whose counsels led her mistress astray. Richelieu was, doubtless, moved to this decision by pique at the conduct of de Fargis, who had obtained her nomination to the royal household by professions of devotion to his interests. " On the 30th of December," writes Richelieu, " de Fargis received an order to leave the court, in the most considerate and favourable manner possible, as she was to ask for permission to resign. The Queen testified great indignation against the Cardinal. She said several times, in the presence of Madame d'Angoulême and of Madame la Princesse, ' that, as for the order which had been given to the ambassador of Spain, it was for the King of Spain her brother to resent and avenge it as would be seen, but the exile of Madame de Fargis was her affair; and that all concerned in it might be assured that she would never relax in her displeasure.' Moreover," continues Richelieu, " the fury of the Queen was unappeasable, for she exclaimed in the presence of little Lavaux, ' No, never will I pardon M. le Cardinal ' "

" *January* 3, 1631. The Queen went to visit the Queen-mother, where she remained a long time; on her return her eyes were red and swelled. She bitterly complained of the indignities to which she was subjected, especially that

his Majesty threatened to dismiss her apothecary, Michel Danse: the said Michel Danse having observed to her Majesty that he knew why M. le Cardinal wished to dismiss him—it was to have opportunity to poison her so that the King might espouse Madame de Combalet! The Queen responded again with a menace, adding: '*No es mas tiempo de hablar con el Cardenal, pero bien de hazer!*'

"*January* 5. The Spanish ambassador waited on M. le Cardinal to notify that her Majesty had applied to him to intercede for her apothecary; the said Cardinal responded[6] 'that he would mention the request to the King who was master and lord.'

"*January* 6. M. de Chaulnes visited the Cardinal with the King. After his Majesty had departed the said de Chaulnes informed the Cardinal that his sister, Madame de Bouillon,[7] met the Queen at the Carmelite Convent, and that her Majesty made bitter comment on her position and treatment; upon which the said Dame de Bouillon replied, 'that perhaps it was her Majesty's own fault, by living on bad terms with the King and with those persons in whom his Majesty confided.' Her Majesty replied, with warmth, 'No! M. le Cardinal wishes to divorce me from the King, my lord, and send me back to Spain.'[8] The same day, M. le Cardinal de la Valette went to pay his respects to her Majesty, and while in discourse he gently observed that her Majesty should not so bitterly resent the past,

neither ought she to threaten so unreservedly. The Queen replied, 'I fear nothing; they have done the worst against me that they can. I know what my conduct in future shall be, and they have no power to prevent me. I repeat, I have nothing to fear! I need patience only—and time will do the rest.' The Queen then paused, and glancing uneasily at the Cardinal de la Valette, hastily added, 'I perceive that, perhaps, I talk too much: I will say no more.'

"*January* 7. The King has had intelligence that the Spanish ambassador has been all this afternoon shut up with the Queen at Val de Grâce; also that de Fargis was lodging with le Père de Gondy close at hand, and that a person named Bordier has been going between the said ambassador, the Queen and de Fargis, in defiance of the strict orders given by his Majesty that the said ambassador should not see the Queen without leave. The ambassador quitted Val de Grâce at dusk hour, and whilst he was there his coach waited in an adjacent street.

"The King desiring this same evening to go to the play, her Majesty refused to accompany him, and simulated faintness in order to be able to excuse herself.

"*January* 8. The King expressed again the same desire, and sent to ask the Queen his wife to accompany him to see a comedy; her Majesty refused to go, although M. de Bonnevil [9] gravely represented the matter.

"The Cardinal de la Valette informed the Car-

dinal that on a certain day the two Queens, as they retired from the court circle, said (alluding to his Eminence), '*Nous avons bien à faire de luy donner plaisir tandis qu'il nous procure du déplaisir, et de la peine!*'

"*January* 20. The prioress of Val de Grâce sent secretly to inform M. le Cardinal par le R. de P. (*sic*), that Montagu [10] in disguise had talked at the grate with the Queen; also that many persons whom they did not know now spoke there to her Majesty; and that the last time that she visited the convent a letter was given to her at the grate, which her Majesty read and then burned; the writer was supposed to be Madame de Fargis." [11]

This entertaining Journal, written by the Cardinal, reveals the irritating *espionnage* exercised over the words and actions of the young Queen. Anne's puerile plots to displace the powerful minister recoiled upon herself and covered her with obloquy. Her position at the court of France, over which her predecessors had ruled so imperiously, was humiliating to a great princess. Her personal liberty even was fettered, and St. Germain, the Luxembourg and the Val de Grâce, were the only places which she had permission to visit at pleasure. The court assembled in the splendid saloons of the minister, and while Queen Anne moped in a corner of the Louvre, Madame de Combalet received the homage of the great ladies of the capital. In defiance of the orders of the minister, Madame de Fargis lingered

in Paris, from whence, however, she made precipitate retreat to Jouarre on learning that a packet of letters which she had formerly written to some personage in Lorraine [12] had been seized on the person of one M. de Senelle, ex-apothecary to the King, whom she had sent to Nancy to recover possession of these papers which she now deemed it expedient to destroy. At Jouarre, de Fargis had an interview with the Duchess de Chevreuse. Marie apparently greeted the fugitive with sympathy and listened to her plaints against the Cardinal, with whom, however, the Duchess was now reconciled through her friend the Lord Keeper de Châteauneuf. From Jouarre, de Fargis travelled to Nancy, and from thence she was imprudent enough to despatch letters to the young Queen and to other high personages, repeating her slanderous accusations against the minister. Scarcely had her messenger passed the frontier of Lorraine than Richelieu's emissaries seized and despoiled him of his despatches which, were at once transmitted to Paris.

"Amongst these papers," writes the Cardinal,[13] "were found letters addressed to the Queen and others for M. le Comte de Cramail, Mademoiselle du Tillet and the Marquise de Sourdis. These letters contained mention of high crimes, and discussed advantages to be derived from the death of the Cardinal. They also made allusion to the death of the King, and mentioned the old project of marrying the Queen to Monsieur. They stated that the Queen-mother opposed the

marriage of Monsieur with a princess of Mantua to please the Queen, as his Majesty's health was apparently greatly on the decline. They testified to intimate correspondence between the writer, the Queen-consort and Monsieur, and gave advice to the said Queen Anne to do her utmost against the Cardinal. De Fargis also wrote to M. de Cramail, to get up petitions against the Cardinal and to forward them to the Queen. De Fargis, moreover, said to M. de Cramail 'that she would send the necessary tokens to the individual indicated; but it would be requisite that this man should be especially faithful as she herself was.' All these said letters were shown, and identified to be in the handwriting of de Fargis, by the persons to whom they were addressed."

The Duchess de Chevreuse, meantime, paid a brief visit of a few days to Paris and was permitted to see the Queen without restriction, which concession diminished the acrimony of Anne's resentment. Her Majesty sent the Duchess to the hôtel of the minister to intercede for de Fargis, and likewise she persuaded Monsieur, who was then staying at the Luxembourg with Queen Marie, to speak to the King on the same subject. Louis silenced Monsieur's loquacity, adding bitterly, "that in a few hours her Majesty would be made aware of the justice of the proceedings against a personage every way so contemptible and unworthy." The Cardinal replied, "that the exile of the said Dame de Fargis being approved even by the Marquis de Mirabel, and

ordered by his Majesty Louis XIII., he could in no way interfere." [14] The day but one following, as Anne was preparing to depart for the Val de Grâce, to grant a stolen interview to Mirabel, Boutillier, under-secretary of state, appeared to demand audience of the Queen on behalf of the Cardinal de Richelieu, the Lord Keeper de Châteauneuf, and the ministers of state de Schomberg and d'Effiat, who presented themselves at the portal of Anne's audience chamber before her Majesty could command herself sufficiently to reply to their message. Anne's usual placid demeanour faltered somewhat as she took her seat and prepared to listen to the communication about to be made in such formal state. Richelieu then blandly informed her Majesty of the arrest of Senelle and of another envoy of the Countess de Fargis, and laid the letters captured from these persons on the table for Anne's inspection— " which we did," relates his Eminence, " with all possible respect." The Queen then identified the writing and letters of de Fargis, but said much against the said de Fargis, for the wicked thoughts that she suggested respecting the marriage between Monsieur and herself in case of the demise of his Majesty. She said " that she had conceived such an aversion for the person of Monsieur that she did not think that she could ever be brought to consent to such an alliance." The Cardinal then drew her Majesty's attention to a paragraph in one of the letters of Madame de Fargis to the Count de Cramail, in which she ex-

horted the latter, "to forward as many petitions as possible to the Queen against Richelieu." "Madame," observed the Cardinal, "truth is everywhere to be obtained. I pray you therefore, do not seek so far for grievances against me, but if your Majesty has aught to complain of tell me my fault." "Monseigneur, I must be very malicious to say anything against you, not having cause." [15] The audience terminated with a ceremonious farewell, previous to which Richelieu apprised the Queen that the Marquise de Senécé had been appointed by the King to replace Madame de Fargis as first lady of the palace. Anne received the communication in silence, but after the departure of the minister her tears flowed, and she hurriedly retired to her oratory and appeared no more in public during the day.

The court, meantime, continued to be a very focus of intrigue: pleasure and festivities were no longer sought by the courtiers but were replaced by the evil excitements of petty plotting, scandal and slander. Each man and woman of the court was attached to one or other of the hostile parties, and either rallied round Marie de' Medici at the Luxembourg, Anne of Austria at the Louvre, Monsieur at the Hôtel d'Orléans, or Richelieu at the Palais Cardinal. Jealousy, suspicions and a lawless excitement relative to the issue of the political feuds prevailing, quenched the wit, the gaiety and the magnificence of the courtiers. In these days of cabal, frivolous stories acquired a disastrous degree of importance, a depreciatory

whisper sufficed to blast a promising career, and to inscribe a name on the terrible black list of the Cardinal. The spirit of Marie de' Medici quailed at the contest before her; and yet she rejected with disdain the overtures of the minister, while weeping in the solitude of her palace at the obloquy which had befallen her, and at the fatal omens [16] which she descried of approaching calamity. The Duke of Orleans, who was watched with gloomy suspicion by King Louis, one day courted the smiles and friendship of Richelieu, and on the next furiously declaimed against his power, and vowed to support his mother to the death. Reassured by the sympathy of her younger son, Marie, during January of the year 1631, took the fatal resolve of making one more effort to dislodge Richelieu. Stories were circulated by her Majesty's command, depreciating the honour and fame of the minister; ludicrous incidents were invented and industriously detailed to undermine his influence, in which ridicule Anne and Marie joined. Marie had appointed Richelieu, in the former days of his favour, lord-steward for life of her household, and had presented him with the Hôtel du Petit Luxembourg, a mansion joining her own palace, as his official residence. This office she had commanded him to resign, also possession of le Petit Luxembourg, which was then inhabited by the Cardinal's niece, Madame de Combalet. Richelieu audaciously disregarded the mandate, alleging that the office of lord-steward was permanent; as for the Petit

Luxembourg, Queen Marie had promised him an indemnity of 30,000 livres if, at the command of the King, or from any other motive, she was compelled to resume her gift, which otherwise was to be considered a donation given and accepted for life. Marie appealed to the King, and offered to pay the indemnity, but Louis decided that the hôtel belonged to his minister, and that the Queen could not thus arbitrarily annul an appointment.[17] Thus thwarted, Marie injudiciously sought support from Monsieur, who entered into the quarrel with acrimony—so much so, that meeting the minister one day in public, he again passed him without salutation or any notice whatever. Meantime, the friends of Queen Marie held almost open communication with M. de Soissons and other exiled princes. State secrets oozed out in a mysterious manner at the courts of Madrid, London and Nancy. Couriers were continually passing to and from those countries bearing despatches for the Queen-mother, for Queen Anne, or for Monsieur, the contents of which were never disclosed. The clandestine visits of Anne to her community at the Val de Grâce became more frequent than ever, and the Cardinal obtained information that she constantly there granted interviews to M. de Mirabel and Madame de Fargis, who had had the audacity to visit Paris in disguise; and to one Croft,[18] who acted as the agent of the English government, and to whom Queen Anne was accused of betraying any state secrets she might become possessed of relating to

the Huguenot subjects of the realm. There can be little doubt that Anne, in her anger at the coercion to which she was subjected, did impart much information to the envoys of foreign states. Dazzled by the promise of future power and consideration, guaranteed to her by her ambitious mother-in-law and by Monsieur, she eagerly entered into their miserable plots to overthrow Richelieu. Matters were brought to a crisis by a rude refusal on the part of the President le Jay to pay a pecuniary mandate of considerable amount drawn on the treasury by Queen Marie ; also by the independent act of the Cardinal, who bestowed the government of the Pays d'Aunis with La Rochelle without previously consulting M. d'Orléans, which was a breach, as Monsieur alleged, of their late treaty of amity. Monsieur consequently waited on his Eminence one morning, attended by a numerous suite—all having previously been concerted with the Queens :—" Your Eminence will doubtless feel surprise at my visit," began Monsieur, in a tone which Richelieu shrank not from calling insolent in his account of the interview to the King. " As long as I believed that you were inclined faithfully to serve my interests, I was willing to remain your friend ; now, as I perceive that you fail to perform that which you promised, and have therefore broken faith with me, I am here to withdraw my promise to aid and to patronise you." [19] The great minister inclined before the young Prince, and with an air of deep respect, " begged to be informed in what

manner he had failed to give satisfaction to his royal Highness ?" "Monsieur, you have failed in all your engagements relative to the Duke of Lorraine ; you have also done all in your power to throw discredit and to attribute loss of influence to Queen Marie your benefactress and to myself." "Monseigneur," replied Richelieu, "have not I promised to consider the claims of M. de Lorraine, when the said prince shall invite me so to do by his envoys ? As for yourself, your Highness receiving all, and more than you demand, can have no just cause of complaint." Monsieur replied that further argument was unnecessary ; upon which his Eminence made profound obeisance. The Duke next observed that he was intending to retire to Orleans, where, in case of need, he should "know how to defend himself." This notification was also received by the Cardinal with low reverence ; and his Highness then departed, making signs to his cavaliers to close round him, so that Richelieu might be prevented from conducting him to his coach. Monsieur then repaired to the Luxembourg to hold final conference with the Queen-mother on the order and method of the seditious risings they contemplated in the provinces. As her quota towards the fund requisite to organise the demonstrations, Marie gave 200,000 francs, and jewels to a large amount. She also delivered to Monsieur the diamonds which had belonged to his late wife ;[20] which, by the King's command, had been intrusted to her guardianship for her infant grand-daughter

Mademoiselle, whose nursery was in the adjacent palace of the Tuileries. Monsieur was also informed, by another "exalted personage," that the Spanish Government had paid in a large sum to his credit in the bank at Brussels, to be applied to purposes heretofore agreed upon. The exhortations and commendations of his mother and sister-in-law raised the Duke's opinion of his prowess and power, and persuaded him that their great enemy must disappear before his first hostile manifesto. Letters were then signed and despatched to the exiled Princes, to the Duke de Montmorency, to the chieftains of Rohan and to the Duke de Bouillon, whose possession of the independent principality and fortress of Sédan rendered him an important ally in any seditious rising. Monsieur next wrote to the King his brother assurances of personal zeal and devoted loyalty; this missive he despatched by his equerry Chaudebonne as he entered his coach to quit Paris; for Gaston wisely deemed his liberty in danger, if, after the warlike notification he had made in the morning at the Palais Cardinal he spent another night in Paris. The same night Marie feigned to be overwhelmed with consternation. On learning the flight from Paris of M. d'Orléans, she despatched a gentleman of her household, named Villiers, to the King to explain her dismay at "this ill-advised step of her misguided son"; the shock of which had caused her almost to faint[21] on learning that Monsieur had actually quitted the capital. From the lips of his

minister, however, and by the unerring pages of the Cardinal's famous Diary, Louis had been initiated step by step in the intrigue, and had been brought round to the opinion, that his mother was ready to sacrifice himself and his realm in the pursuit of her revenge and ambition. The following morning Louis visited the Queen-mother at the Luxembourg, and a scene of mutual reproach and violence ensued, during which Marie was compelled to acknowledge that she had given the Montpensier diamonds to her son for purposes which she pretended to ignore. She nevertheless betrayed her influence over Monsieur at this crisis, by offering to effect his return to Paris, provided that the King granted him *carte blanche* respecting his marriage either with Marie de Gonzague or with the Princess Marguerite of Lorraine, and gave him the investiture of the fortresses and governments of l'Isle de France, Soissons, Coussi, Charny, Laon and Montpellier. Louis absolutely refused; adding, "that he doubted not Monsieur would soon be brought to reason and to obedience." His Majesty then requested the Queen to retire for an interval from court, as his government was unhappily so distasteful, and suggested that her dower castle of Moulins would be an appropriate residence. Louis, moreover, commanded her to withdraw her support from the exiled Princes, and to remain absolutely neutral in the pending contest excited by her agents. The King then took his leave, before her Majesty had recovered from the first effects of

her surprise and fury on hearing such propositions. The next day Marie sent her confessor, le Père Souffran,[22] to decline obeying the commands of her son, "as her proposed sojourn at Moulins was only a subtle snare of the Cardinal to entice her from Paris, that her person might be seized and her liberty endangered."[23] A council was therefore summoned, when it was decided to give her Majesty the alternative of signing a document in which she engaged herself by a solemn promise not to undertake, abet or encourage risings in the realm, and to withdraw protection, friendship and communication from all persons exiled by the King for political offences. Marie returned the document accompanied by a written refusal; as she said, "experience had proved to her that the opponents of M. de Richelieu were considered as the foes of the King; and that she was not disposed to sacrifice her friends and dependents to the evil wrath of the said minister." A second council was then assembled, at which Richelieu spoke, after he had been commanded expressly so to do by Louis. With the eloquence and precision in facts for which he was renowned, Richelieu obeyed. He represented "that the Emperor, the Kings of Spain and England, and the Dukes of Savoy and Lorraine, jealous of the glory of Louis, and unable to mar the prosperity of France by open warfare, sought to effect their object by troubling the kingdom by secret intrigue and seduction: that considerable sums had been subscribed for that purpose by Spain

and England; while a contingent of troops had been promised by Germany. Sire, the Duke of Lorraine and his kindred of Guise have dared to brave your authority and that of our venerated Parliament. The malcontents are supported by the approval of her Majesty your consort and by Queen Marie—a fact incredible almost and unparalleled in the annals of history. Monsieur, therefore, will never make submission while he is supported by the Queen-mother, and as long as this Princess remains at court she is formidable, inasmuch as the power of procuring the dismissal of your minister is attributed to her. In the midst of such intrigues and insubordination, order becomes impossible—sedition will increase, and on your first indisposition, Sire, the Queen-mother will render herself master of your person and state. Your faithful servants cannot defend you—happy, indeed, will they be if they can shield themselves from the vengeance of two Princesses whose anger we know to be implacable." Richelieu then proposed the arrest of Marie de' Medici; "a decree which it would be advisable to execute with every forbearance and honour possible, but with every precaution and resolution; as, if the affair be attempted and fail, the condition of the realm will be worse than before." Every metaphor of deprecation, regret and condolence is abundantly employed by the skilful minister in this oration, which nevertheless terminates by exhorting his Majesty "to be brave and politic, and to remember that an able surgeon, when

severing a diseased limb, is careless of the amount of blood which he sheds." Should Louis, nevertheless, in his wisdom judge it expedient to tolerate the present order of affairs, Richelieu emphatically demanded release from the toil and perils of office. All the members of the council present applauded this harangue. Louis lay back thoughtfully in his chair, with a face expressive of blank consternation; and in reply to the entreaties of the lords present, promised to advise privately with his minister and to take a definite resolution.

When news of these troubles reached England, Charles I. blamed the blind violence and obstinacy of Marie de' Medici. "The Queen your mother is in the wrong," said King Charles to his consort Henrietta Maria. "The Cardinal de Richelieu has rendered glorious services to the King his master. These intrigues remind one of an accusation levelled by the Roman people against Scipio, who listened calmly and then exclaimed: 'I remember only, fellow-citizens, that on this day I defeated the Carthaginian army. Romans! let us repair to the Capitol and return thanks to the Gods.' If I had been, therefore, in the place of the Cardinal, I should have contented myself with observing to your brother: 'Sire, within two years La Rochelle has fallen; thirty-five Huguenot towns have capitulated; Casale has been twice relieved; Savoy and the half of Piedmont have been conquered. Sire, these successes, the result of my care and labour are

Prado Braun & Cie

Marie de Medici

from the painting by Rubens in the Prado

the guarantees which I offer to you for my ability, my loyalty and my fidelity.' Where, then, Madame, would have appeared, in the face of these great triumphs, the paltry complaints of Queen Marie ? " [24]

To accomplish the purpose meditated by the Cardinal great address was required. The King shrunk from violent measures [25] against his mother, and again sought to move her generous forbearance. Finding persuasion fail, Louis ordered a departure of the court for Compiègne, at the suggestion of Richelieu, who comforted his Majesty by inspiring a hope that the Queen-mother might be more accessible when away from Paris, if indeed Marie consented to leave the Luxembourg, which she had vowed never again to venture.

The young Queen received a command which she dared not disobey, to repair to Compiègne attended by Madame de Senécé, by Madame de la Flotte and by Marie de Hautefort, whom the Cardinal, by every species of *cajolerie*, was trying to win over to his interests. The court arrived at Compiègne about the 17th of February. The King was joined *en route* at Senlis by Marie de' Medici, who, remembering the result of the abandonment of her son on the memorable Journée des Dupes, now hastened with her accustomed precipitation to help her enemy in consummating the *coup d'état* which he had plotted. A prudent and politic princess would still have extricated herself from the dilemma, and have converted the

visible abasement into which she had fallen into a triumph of magnanimity. Marie de' Medici, however, headstrong and short-sighted, attempted to subdue her enemy by sullen pertinacity. Richelieu still hesitated to offer final defiance to his late benefactress, while the King, with tears drawn forth by his own lugubrious forebodings, besought his minister to try once more to move the compassion and clemency of the Queen. In obedience to this order, Richelieu entered the chapel of the old castle of St. Germain on the Sunday following, and meeting Queen Marie as she was leaving the altar after receiving the Holy Sacrament, he fell at her feet and conjured her to forgive him his transgressions.[26] Marie haughtily retreated; when the Cardinal, rising, approached the altar whereon the Sacred Elements were exposed, and taking the cup in his hand made a solemn vow that in nothing had he willingly or maliciously offended her Majesty, but that he still continued in the mind to serve her as his best benefactress and mistress. The Queen eyed the Cardinal for a few minutes in silence, and a softer expression stole over her face; she, however, finally turned away and without vouchsafing a word quitted the chapel. When Louis was informed of the failure of this attempt at conciliation he rose with sudden impulse and signified his assent to the measures proposed by Richelieu.

A rumour, meantime, had been spread by the adherents of Queen Marie that her Majesty

intended to leave Compiègne speedily, "as it was not her intention to share the deliberations of the council, nor longer to sanction by her presence the infamous mandates of M. de Richelieu." Louis therefore signed the requisite mandates necessary for the detention of the Queen-mother, and the arrest of her most zealous adherents. It was determined, moreover, that same night to execute the project, by leaving Marie at Compiègne under the charge and *surveillance* of the Marshal d'Estrées and his regiment of guards, then on duty in and about the palace. The design was well considered, feasible, and avoided violence or show of disrespect to the unhappy Princess. D'Estrées was one of the most polished of the courtiers, a nobleman of wit, refined manners and *savoir-faire*. He unhesitatingly undertook the office pressed upon him ; he promised to Richelieu unwearied vigilance and fidelity, and assured the King that no effort on his part should be wanting to reconcile the Queen to her position and to induce her to make overtures likely to prove satisfactory to his Majesty and the realm. One by one the gentlemen in attendance on the King were summoned and instructed to meet their royal master at midnight in the Capuchin monastery of Compiègne, under an injunction of strict secrecy.

Anne of Austria, meantime, retired at her usual hour unsuspicious that any event of moment impended. Louis had too little faith in her loyalty and discretion to impart his design ; neither, it is

to be feared, was he greatly concerned at the fright likely to be inflicted by the sudden revelation of so startling an event. Anne had passed the evening in the apartments of Marie de' Medici and had returned therefrom much depressed. In the middle of the night the Queen and her ladies, Mesdames de Senécé and de la Flotte, were aroused by a loud knocking at the door of the antechamber. The blows were repeated with greater energy and voices were heard without. Anne opened her curtains in affright, and called Madame de Senécé, who directed Mademoiselle Filandre, a *femme de chambre*, to inquire who the intruders were, and their business.[27] "It is the King, the King!" exclaimed Anne, fearfully; "open to his Majesty!" The sound of male voices and the ring of arms now reached the ears of the eager listeners. Daylight just glimmered; and all the Queen's ladies and women, pale with fright, crowded round their royal mistress. "A thousand fearful thoughts then agitated the mind of the Queen," relates Madame de Motteville. "She had every reason to distrust the King her husband; and, as she confided to me, she believed that some dreadful event was about to happen to her: the least that she expected being, that she was to be banished from the realm. Looking upon the next few minutes as the supreme moments of her fate, the Queen prepared herself for the emergency, and summoned all her courage. She had a firm mind and a resolute will; and I doubt not, judging from what her Majesty

told me when relating these particulars, that the first shock being over, she would have received with the utmost resignation and patience the fate Heaven had destined her to endure." The Queen's suspense was at length relieved by the return of Mademoiselle Filandre, with the intelligence that Monseigneur the Lord Keeper Châteauneuf desired to speak to her Majesty on behalf of the King. Anne rose from her bed, and putting on the *robe de chambre* presented by Madame de Senécé, who afterwards described herself as " plus morte que vive," ordered M. de Châteauneuf to be admitted. Châteauneuf bowed before his young mistress as she tremblingly advanced with flushed cheeks and in utter disarray. " Madame," said he, " I have to make known to your Majesty the orders which I have received from the lips of the King our master. To insure the welfare of this realm, his Majesty finds himself compelled to leave his mother at Compiègne under the *surveillance* of the Marshal d'Estrées. It is therefore his Majesty's command, that you attempt not an interview with her said Majesty, the Queen-mother, but that you immediately hasten to the church of the Capuchin convent where his Majesty expects you."[28] Châteauneuf then withdrew, before the emotion of the Queen permitted her to reply. The lord-keeper, however, managed to whisper an injunction into the ear of the Marquise de Senécé to hasten the preparations of her young mistress unless she wished to see her involved in the same disgrace as her mother-in-law. Anne

soon recovered her accustomed coolness and decision, and with many anathemas on the Cardinal's audacity and tyranny, she refused to leave the palace without a parting interview with Marie de' Medici. Time was elapsing, and the King's orders had been precise that Anne should not see the Queen-mother but hasten to join him in the church of the Capuchins. Madame de Senécé, knowing the wayward perverseness of her mistress, and anxious to save her from a direct act of disobedience in a juncture of such importance, proposed that Mademoiselle Filandre should be despatched on a journey of discovery to the Queen's apartments, from whence she should bring a message from Marie, in case her Majesty still remained ignorant of the *coup d'état*, expressing a desire to see Queen Anne. The apartments of the Queen-mother were silent and undisturbed. Filandre made her way to the bed of Caterina Selvaggio, chief tirewoman, and whispered an agitated entreaty that Queen Marie would send to request an interview with her daughter-in-law, as her Majesty had something to impart and dared not leave her apartments unsummoned. This *ruse* succeeded; Marie, ever on the alert, sent Caterina to summon Queen Anne under pretext that she had had an agitating dream and found herself indisposed. Anne flew to the apartments of Marie, followed by Madame de Senécé carrying a portion of her mistress's attire.[29] Marie was sitting up in bed, clasping her knees, with a face of deepest woe. Anne threw

herself in the arms of the unhappy princess, sobbing forth the words, "Oh! ma mère, ma mère—I am to leave you—I have not an instant to explain—the King expects me at the Capuchin church!" "Ma fille, am I to die?—am I a prisoner? Speak! The King, does he desert me? What is to become of me?" Anne then signed to Madame de Senécé to retire out of hearing, and while she finished dressing, she recounted all that had befallen her, with the order signified by Châteauneuf. With many tears the princesses then embraced and separated.[30]

King Louis received his consort in the choir of the Capuchin church. His Majesty was attended by the Cardinal minister, by Châteauneuf, by the abbot of the Capuchins and by a swarm of courtiers, many of whom had been roused from their beds to join the King and scarcely yet comprehended their position. Two ladies also were present—Madame de la Flotte and her lovely grand-daughter. The King briefly recapitulated his reason for the arrest of the Queen his mother. "Madame," continued his Majesty, addressing his consort, "the indiscretions of Madame de Fargis having caused her removal from your service, I present to you in her stead Madame de la Flotte Hauterive; and for second *dame d'atours*, Mademoiselle Marie de Hautefort. For both these ladies I request your favour."[31] Anne had hitherto steadily declined to permit any lady to fulfil the functions of the exiled Madame de Fargis;[32] she was, however, now compelled to put the best face

on the matter, as the King was evidently in no humour to be trifled with. "*Elle les reçut toutes deux faisant la meilleure mine du monde,*" relates Madame de Motteville. Anne, however, still clung to her de Fargis, who like herself was an adherent of the Queen-mother, of Spain and of the French malcontents, and she viewed her new ladies, especially Mademoiselle de Hautefort, not only as her rival in the King's favour, but as an enemy and a spy in the pay of the Cardinal.

Marie de Hautefort was the daughter of Charles, Marquis de Hautefort, and of Renée du Belley. At this period she had accomplished her eighteenth year. Her beauty was less dazzling than that of Madame de Chevreuse, but of a nobler type. The expression of her features was serious and thoughtful; she was pious, ambitious, sedate in manner and reserved to a surprising degree for a damsel of her age so early introduced at the court of France. When Mademoiselle de Hautefort spoke she did so advisedly; her language was well chosen and perfectly expressed her ideas. The poor but illustrious family from which Marie sprang had little to bestow on a younger daughter of their race and she had been destined for the cloister. Louis, however, had now resolved that Mademoiselle de Hautefort should be drafted into the household of the young Queen, as he found indescribable consolation in her repose of manner, decorous discourse and sweet smiles. Marie, on her part, professed respectful devotion for Louis Treize, and exalted him into a hero whose

domestic misfortunes inspired profound sympathy. The two, however, had never met in private, for their interviews were holden in a small cabinet adjacent to the saloon in which Marie de' Medici received the court. The King with a *triste* expression on his sallow, pensive face, sat and sighed by the object of his admiration, who, serenely gracious, entertained him with the *on dits* of conventual gossip, or related her early reminiscences of rural life, in which his Majesty seemed to take deep interest.

The King and Queen, after their salutations in the grey twilight of this February morning, commanded mass to be said before they quitted the chapel. Louis seized the opportunity to indicate that a fresh influence had dawned over the court. The maids of the Queen, according to custom, sat and knelt on the ground during mass, the ladies of honour having alone the privilege of cushions and stools. The King, observing this, rose, and taking the velvet cushion of his own *prie-Dieu*, sent it to Mademoiselle de Hautefort with a gracious gesture. Marie blushed, for she felt that the eyes of all persons present were watching her. She, in her turn, looked anxiously at Queen Anne, who signed to her to take the cushion. Marie obeyed, but modestly laid it by her, and when mass was concluded she rose, and with a deep obeisance returned the cushion to the King.[33] Louis continued his journey with the court to Senlis. There, many victims were sacrificed to the hate and to the fears of Richelieu ; arrests perhaps rendered

necessary by the catastrophe of Marie's detention at Compiègne. An hour after his arrival in Senlis, M. Vaultier, Marie's obnoxious physician and friend, was on his way to the Bastille under escort. *Lettres de cachet* were despatched by M. de la Ville-aux-Clercs to the Princesse de Conty, Marguerite de Lorraine-Guise, the intimate companion of the Queens, and the wife of Bassompierre, which exiled her to the castle of Eu, permitting her only six hours to set out from Paris. On the 24th of February, Bassompierre, the brilliant and popular trifler, was arrested, ostensibly as a partizan of Marie de' Medici, but as it was surmised to avenge the counsel which he had given at Lyons in 1630, to imprison Richelieu for life. It was also debated in council to arrest the Duke d'Epernon and the Marshal de Crequi. The Duchesses d'Elbœuf, de Rohan, d'Ornano likewise received an order to retire from Paris. All things seemed now at the feet of the victorious minister; he possessed the ear of the King, and directed at will the resources and alliances of the realm. The enemies which remained to be overthrown Richelieu prepared to do battle against in the full conviction of eventual triumph.

Queen Marie was at first paralysed by grief and amazement at her detention. For hours, it is recorded, she wept with passionate excitement,[34] and threatened the authors of her disgrace with future retribution. From the hour of her arrest Richelieu never intended to promote her reconciliation with Louis, and from Paris and the court she was for

ever to be exiled so long as the Cardinal retained power. Nevertheless Richelieu deemed it politic to temporise—the conscience and the filial feelings of King Louis might prompt him to annul the act accomplished after so many relentings and doubts. It is certain that Marie was urged, nay implored, to leave Compiègne and take up her abode at Moulins, unfettered by restrictions of any kind except her parole not to leave the town without the permission of her son. The letters addressed to his mother by Louis in this sorrowful crisis of their history are forbearing and modest. His first letter after their separation, written at the beginning of the following month of March, contains the following passage :[35] "The continual excuses which it has pleased you to assign against taking up your abode in your house at Moulins render it necessary for me again to remind you how requisite it is for the welfare of my realm, that you should yield to the entreaties that I have aforetime made and make again. You would be there accommodated more at your pleasure and mine, as you would not be surrounded with unpleasant facts as at Compiègne. Neither, Madame, is it true that the plague is raging at Moulins nor that your house there is out of repair ; nevertheless, as I have told you before, you can, if you choose, stay at Nevers. I am writing on the subject to the Marshal d'Estrées ; you will therefore, if it pleases you, give credit to anything which he may impart to you in my name." In answer to this letter, Queen Marie

writes to inform her son, that indisposition has hitherto prevented her from setting out to Moulins : she then reproaches him bitterly for his abandonment of her ; avers that she has been always a good and conscientious mother, and that the reward which she now reaps for countless privations and devoted zeal for the interests of his Majesty and the realm, is, that she is sacrificed to the vengeance of her bitter foe ! Finally, her Majesty asserts that her health is not in condition to undertake so long a journey ; that her nerves are shaken ; and that she may as well meet death, if such be her son's will, at Compiègne as in a lone castle, badly drained, where she would be in the power of M. le Premier, who coveted her life and was ready to sanction any unhallowed act of violence.[36] Driven thus into a corner by her enemy the Cardinal, Marie de' Medici had not the tact to dissimulate her resentment and *dépit ;* her protests against the outrage to which she had been subjected resounded throughout the realm and at the courts of London, Madrid and Brussels. The Queen drew up a violent diatribe against the Cardinal, which she forwarded to the Parliament of Paris. The members, however, prudently transmitted the document to the King with its seals unbroken. The Marquis de Mirabel meantime, instigated by Anne of Austria, asked audience of King Louis on behalf of his Catholic Majesty, Don Philip IV., to intercede for the Queen-mother, and to request permission to visit her Majesty at Compiègne. Louis wrathfully

refused permission. "Sire, apparently then her Majesty is a prisoner under arrest?" "Monseigneur, nobody but ignorant people or people perversely malignant will so assert," answered the King, impatiently. "I find it, however, strange that the King of Spain should interfere; foreign princes have no right to intervene in such matters. Remember, M. l'Ambassadeur, that when the ambassador of Charles IX. asked permission to see Queen Elizabeth de Valois, a daughter of France, he could not obtain his desire. I will not recur, Monsieur, to the sequel of that unhappy history; suffice for the present, that you have no reason to take amiss my decision in this matter!" "The King spoke thus," relates the Cardinal in his Journal, "because the Queen his mother had boasted to his Majesty that the Spanish ambassador was privy to all her intrigues for the ruin of the Cardinal."[37]

Louis continued his correspondence with his mother from Dijon, where he had arrived at the head of a *corps d'armée* in pursuit of Monsieur, who on receiving the intelligence of his mother's arrest, proclaimed a levy of troops over all the lands of his appanage, and fled to Nancy after publishing a hostile manifesto against Richelieu. His Majesty wrote thus from Dijon:

LOUIS XIII. TO QUEEN MARIE DE' MEDICI[38]

"MADAME,—I have no occasion to enter into explanations with you relative to the reason and

just causes which have compelled me to separate myself from you for an interval, for nobody understands such better than yourself; also the efforts I have made to save both yourself and me from such annoyance. You are aware that remaining at my court, offended and discontented as you have for some time declared yourself to be, prevented me from providing remedy to put down the intrigues which there abound, and failing to subdue which, my realm and my person are in danger. Nevertheless, all this need not prevent me from feeling and testifying for you the respect and the friendship which you can expect from a good son, although my duty to my subjects and to my crown is esteemed by me as my first earthly calling. Having always received from me numberless proofs of regard, I feel astonished that you should imagine that I am capable of conceiving against you violent resolutions: believe me, Madame, that such thoughts have never entered my head, nor have they been concerted by any of my servants. For what end or aim you persist in impressing upon the world that your ruin is resolved I cannot imagine, when all the evil which you have hitherto received is separation from myself—a fact which you have yourself brought about by opposing and alienating all persons who please me and are likely to serve me and my realm. I hear also, with extreme displeasure, that you are still delaying your departure from Compiègne. If indisposition is the cause of your delay I shall experience a double annoyance, but

I do not hear that your illness is serious enough to prevent you from travelling. I request you therefore to set out, for your departure is important to my crown and will check the rumours which you have spread that I have made you a prisoner. At Moulins moreover, you will have no person near you likely to offend you or to curtail in any way your freedom. I doubt not therefore, Madame, that you will promptly comply with my desire, the which accomplished, you shall always receive the truest tokens of regard and honour from, Madame,

" Your majesty's humble and obedient son,

" Louis."

Marie replied in tones of indignant reproach; she denies that she had ever troubled the realm, and asserts that M. le Cardinal never desired reconciliation and was not sincere in his overtures to be restored to her good graces. " Do me the favour, if it pleases you, to believe that it is out of my power to comply with your Majesty's commands to leave this place and to journey towards Moulins. I beg you to reflect, that having received the treatment which I have, I possess good cause for the apprehensions which smite me and which prevent me from repairing to Moulins, from which place I might be seized and put in a boat on the Rhône, and so, against my will, be transported on board your Majesty's galleys, which are assembling (at Marseilles) for Italy. Italy, it is true, is the land of my birth, but as I

brought from thence into France all the wealth which appertained to me, there remains for me, even in my own country, neither honour, riches nor refuge, except by the favour of distant relatives who have never seen me, and who would have great right to decline to receive me in their dominions, seeing that my own son could not tolerate me nor suffer me to end my days within his potent realm." [39] The unhappy princess continues thus throughout a long letter of three pages, and her despair everywhere transpires, as the promptings of her own vindictive temper convinced her that Richelieu would never permit her reconciliation with the King, or share his power with one whom he had so mortally offended.[40] The hopes of the Queen for liberty and revenge centred in her second son, the heir-presumptive. Monsieur had safely arrived in Lorraine, pursued by the victorious arms of his brother to the very walls of Nancy. Richelieu, nevertheless, found it requisite to dissimulate in order to achieve his final purpose, which was to drive Marie de' Medici to a voluntary flight from the realm, by practising on her rash and impulsive temper and on her dread of his craft and enmity.[41] In this design he found a ready ally in Père Joseph, who had managed to render himself agreeable to the Queen and was not suspected by her. The King had evidently misgivings, and perhaps relentings, in favour of his mother, nor was it probable that Louis could ever be induced to sign against her a decree of exile or of imprisonment in a state

fortress. The Cardinal perceived that the very tenure of his power depended on the dissensions of the royal family: on the absence of his haughty and intriguing patroness; in the humiliation of Queen Anne of Austria; the disgrace of M. d'Orléans; the banishment of the Princes of the blood royal and the discontent of such formidable vassals of the crown as Bouillon, Guise, Rohan, Epernon and others. Le Père Joseph, therefore, wrote to Marie, offering his good offices to reconcile her with the minister, and sent his missive by a humble Capuchin brother. In that clever satire, "Le Catolicon Français," which professes to reveal the mental craft of the statesmen of this period, Richelieu is made thus to argue: "Whilst I diverted that good lady (Marie de' Medici) by divers journeyings to and from Compiègne, I built up and cemented by Père Joseph the old suspicions that I had infused on both sides; telling the King that Monsieur was the elder born in his mother's affection; and to the Queen, that her son who piqued himself on his powers of dissimulation meant to snare, entrap and hold her captive." Marie de' Medici, meantime, had been herself busily weaving an intrigue by which she hoped to break her bonds and taste the delights of revenge. Marie de Beuil, Countess de Moret, once a mistress of Henri Quatre, had espoused the son of the Marquis de Vardes, governor of the neighbouring fortress of La Capelle, and resided with her husband in that stronghold. The countess found means to

communicate secretly with the Queen and offered to receive her in La Capelle provided she could escape from Compiègne. Marie eagerly embraced the overture; taking the precaution, however, to write to the Archduchess Isabel, asking for temporary refuge at Brussels, in case any accident after leaving Compiègne should frustrate her design. The Queen, therefore, escaped the *surveillance* of her jailors at ten o'clock on the night of July 10th, attended only by La Mazure, lieutenant of her body-guard.[42] Her fears had been strongly excited during the preceding day by the report of d'Estrées, that the Marshal Schomberg was on his way to Compiègne at the head of 1200 horse to convey her to Marseilles, where she was to be put on board a ship bound for Leghorn. There is no doubt that the subtle Richelieu, aware of the Queen's intrigues with Madame de Vardes, employed gentle pressure to urge her departure from Compiègne, and had taken care to remove all obstacles. At the end of the street of Compiègne, the Queen found a coach and six, provided by Madame de Fresney, niece of the Bishop of Léon, who took her uncle's equipage without his knowledge or assent—a freedom which nearly cost the bishop his see.[43] The Queen passed the river Aisne at Choisy, relays of horses awaited her along the road, and the venture appeared to prosper beyond her most sanguine hopes. Madame de Vardes, however, failed to meet her Majesty at the appointed place—a league from La Capelle. After an interval of suspense a messen-

ger appeared, who announced that the old Marquis de Vardes had suddenly entered La Capelle, and after arresting his son for his traitorous correspondence with the Queen-mother, had sent Madame de Vardes and the ladies privy to the plot to deliver up the fortress, under strong escort to Paris to await the stern pleasure of the Cardinal. Richelieu received daily advices from Compiègne, all of which he jotted down in his Journal. Aware, therefore, of the design of the Queen to entrench herself in La Capelle, he had given notice to the Marquis de Vardes [44] to circumvent the project by his own opportune arrival. The unfortunate Marie, therefore, not daring to return to Compiègne, took the road with the utmost precipitation to the town of Avesne, where she was received with ostentatious honour by the Marquis de Crèvecœur. A messenger was despatched to Brussels to inform the Infanta Doña Isabel of the Queen's arrival. The Prince d'Epinay, governor of the province of Hainault, received commands to attend her Majesty to Mons, where the Infanta repaired for an interview. Marie, again fatally swayed by her resentments, suffered herself to be escorted by the Spanish ambassador, the Marquis de Aytona, whom she subsequently deputed to compliment and thank Doña Isabel. The frantic anger of Louis XIII. against his mother needed no further impetus after her imprudence had been expatiated upon in council by the Cardinal de Richelieu. In reply to the letter despatched by Marie, the King wrote: "Madame,

my cousin the Cardinal de Richelieu gives me daily numerous proofs of devotion, fidelity, affection and sincerity. He pays a religious deference to my commands, and the faithful care he gives to the welfare of my realm and my own person vouch for his truth. You will therefore permit me, Madame, to observe, that the act which you have just committed and the intrigues in which you participate, have enlightened me as to your past intentions and put me on my guard against future attempts. The respect, Madame, which I ought to bear you prevents me from adding more to this epistle." [45]

Some officious person at this season remarked to Anne of Austria, that, at least, M. le Cardinal showed her more indulgence and respect than he had vouchsafed to Queen Marie. Anne assumed her most icy manner and replied with scornful gesture, "There can and shall be no comparison between the Queen-mother and myself, her rank is not such as mine; she has not the influence and support which I possess and which I have the right to expect." [46]

The triumphant Richelieu consummated his victory by the issue of a proclamation of outlawry against all the followers of the Duc d'Orléans. The names of the proscribed traitors were the Count de Moret, natural brother of the King; the Dukes de Bellegarde, d'Elbœuf, de Rohan; the Presidents le Coigneux and de Payen, and M. de Puylaurent, le P. Chanteloube,[47] confessor to Marie de' Medici; and Mousignot, private secretary to Monsieur.

When this edict was sent to the Parliament to be registered, the members modified the decree against the adherents of the heir-presumptive, by entering on the register what was called *un arrêt de partage ;* which placed on record the names of the members protesting against the decree. The King therefore commanded the attendance of the High Court in the great gallery of the Louvre. Louis commanded the registers to be laid before him, and with his own hand he tore therefrom the leaf upon which the act had been inscribed under protest. The King then caused a decree of the privy council to be inserted, which prohibited any debate in the Chambers upon matters relating to state affairs—topics which appertained only to the ministers and sworn counsellors of the crown.

Judicial proceedings were next instituted against the Countess de Fargis, who was supposed to be lingering in the neighbourhood of Paris in disguise. Such was the terror inspired by the late proceedings of the King and his minister, that the friends of Anne of Austria failed in their allegiance to her service and caprice. The Abbess of the Val de Grâce,[48] stirred by a significant hint from the Palais Cardinal that seditiously inclined sisterhoods had been dissolved and their members draughted into more loyal communities, hastened to send information to the Cardinal that two suspicious personages, thought to be Croft and Montagu, had asked at the gate of the convent to speak with her Majesty ; moreover, that a letter

had been delivered into the hands of the Queen by an unknown person as her Majesty entered the nunnery upon her first visit after the return of the court from Compiègne. The personages mentioned in the letters of de Fargis taken from M. Senelle were arrested and subjected to severe interrogatories. Amongst these persons were the Marquis de Crequi and the Count de Cramail, M. Senelle and Mademoiselle du Tillet. This last lady deposed that she had twice forwarded letters from the accused to M. de Cramail; also that two days after the return of the court from Compiègne, Anne had sent for her to take charge of a letter which her Majesty desired secretly to forward to de Fargis, but that the Queen had decided finally to send it by a special messenger. "I feel no surprise that Madame de Fargis has been dismissed from the Queen's service; the mystery is, what influence could ever induce M. le Cardinal to sanction the nomination of *une femme si decriée* to the first office in her Majesty's household!" [49] was the malicious comment of Mademoiselle du Tillet, in allusion to the notorious intrigues which once subsisted between de Fargis, Cramail, Richelieu and the disgraced Lord-Keeper de Marillac. As the countess never surrendered to take her trial in obedience to the citation of the criminal court sitting at the Arsenal, judgment was allowed to go by default. The award of the court declared la Dame de Fargis d'Angennes guilty of high treason and sentenced her to decapitation, which decree was

performed on an effigy of the countess in the Place du Carrefour de St. Paul, November 8th, 1631. M. Senelle, upon whom the letters of the countess were found, was condemned to the galleys for life; Vaultier to perpetual imprisonment in the Bastille.[50] The Marshal de Marillac, generalissimo of the Italian army, towards whom Richelieu bore inveterate hate, was arrested and put upon his trial upon frivolous charges of malversation during the construction of the citadel of Verdun, by which he had derived illicit profit; and of mal-administration of the King's moneys forwarded for the payment of the army under his command. The true crime of Marillac was his offer at the memorable secret conference at Lyons, during the King's illness, to slay the obnoxious Cardinal minister with his own hand. The Lord-Keeper Châteauneuf presided at the trial which took place, against all precedent, in the private mansion of Richelieu at Ruel. On the 8th of May sentence of decapitation was pronounced upon Marillac; the crime of this old and faithful servant of Henri Quatre being his devoted attachment to the widow of his late master, and the power which his probity, virtue and affability enabled him to exercise over the army under his command. "A page ought not to be flogged for the misdeeds for which I am arraigned! For forty years I have served two great kings: all that they can accuse me of are trifling inaccuracies in accounts for lime, straw, hay, wood and stone!" The following day the head of

Marillac fell.[51] So great was the horror and irritation of Queen Marie when she heard of this murder, that she is said to have made a solemn vow that if ever she returned to France and regained her lost power, the head of Richelieu should be severed, without form or process, on the spot upon which the virtuous and good marshal suffered. The ex-Lord Keeper, brother of Marillac, survived his brother only four months; he died at Châteaudun, crippled from the dampness and unhealthiness of his prison, and overwhelmed with grief at the ruin of his house.

Richelieu, meantime, despatched letters and missives in every direction, to express his dismay at the arrest and flight of Marie de' Medici, towards whom he positively avers that no harm or disgrace was intended, except a temporary exile to her dower castle of Moulins.

In one of these epistles addressed to the Cardinal de la Valette, Richelieu thus expresses his regrets: "It is with the most incredible and smarting regret that I announce to you the resolve which his Majesty found himself obliged to take at Compiègne, to request the Queen his mother to retire for a time to Moulins. I would wish, at the price of my blood and at the forfeiture of my life, to have rendered this separation unnecessary, although, please God, its duration will be brief. If it had pleased Almighty God to have granted my prayers my last moment would have preceded this alienation, for which I can never be consoled, seeing a Queen whom I have so long revered

and served reduced to this condition. But the sway of evil and termagant spirits had too long dominated over the court. During the war in Italy, they did all they could to produce a failure of that campaign, since which Monsieur has fled from court. The King on many occasions entreated the Queen his mother to open her eyes upon these woes and to arrest their progress, but her Majesty was not pleased to comply; nor would she enter the council chamber, saying that she did not wish her name to be used as an authority for the indispensable measures there resolved. The King, finding her inexorable in this resolution, wisely decided that if she declined to permit her influence to be used in support of his government, her presence in Paris was highly adverse to the welfare of his realm—as declaring herself malcontent and remaining at court gave to many personages boldness and freedom to proclaim themselves so likewise." [52] A few days later, the Cardinal wrote to the Commander de la Porte, uncle of M. de St. Simon, to announce the departure of Marie from Compiègne. In this letter he says: "Believe me, there is nothing in the world which we would not have done to persuade the Queen to renounce her alliance with Monsieur and with the realm of Spain. We offered to confide to her the government of Anjou, and to confirm her Majesty's sway over other places already conferred; but she steadily refused all honourable terms and requisite precautions which we proposed." [53] "The Queen," said Richelieu,

"treated in the same manner persons who brought her an atrocious calumny or a pure truth. She kept the secret of all, and received true friends and false ones with the same cordiality. Every one, therefore, fearlessly palmed upon her bad coin mingled with good. I lost my hold on the Queen-mother," continues he, "by not putting down evil cabals when they first cropped out. To save one's self, one must seize the initiative. It is better in such circumstances to do much rather than little, provided precaution goes only the length of exiling from court all personages who, being able to perpetrate evil, inspire suspicions by imprudent or malignant conduct and censure." [54]

Having thus punished his late opponents, exiled the Queen-mother and suspended a threatening scourge over the head of his sovereign's wife, Richelieu next offered admonition to his royal master. Imbued with a thorough persuasion of his own administrative capacity and the weakness of the King, Richelieu caused the following maxims to be laid before Louis by the Capuchin Joseph; in which, article by article, he prescribed the manner in which he chose to wield the arbitrary power he had usurped:

1.

A great Prince ought to have a council of state to advise with on the affairs of his realm.

2.

It is necessary for a King to have a prime minister; and this prime minister must have

three qualities, to wit,—to possess no other interest than that of his Prince, to be able and faithful, and to be a member of Holy Church.

3.

A Prince ought to love his prime minister with perfect affection.

4.

A Prince ought never to dismiss or degrade his prime minister.

5.

A Prince ought to confide implicitly in his prime minister.

6.

A Prince ought always to grant free and constant access to his presence to his prime minister.

7.

A Prince ought to invest his prime minister with sovereign authority over the people of the realm.

8.

A Prince ought to heap honours and riches on his prime minister.

9.

A Prince ought to regard his prime minister as his richest treasure.

10.

A Prince ought to put no faith in reports and accusations against his prime minister; he ought not to take pleasure in such slander, but on the contrary rigorously punish him by whom his minister is falsely accused.

11.

A Prince ought to make plenary revelation to his prime minister of all slanders and accusations hurled against the said minister; even when the King may have solemnly promised secrecy.

12.

A Prince ought not only to love his realm, but his prime minister also; after them, his kindred and relatives.

13.

A Prince ought to forestall calamity by wise provision.

14.

A Prince is not to be blamed for using just severity in governing his realm.

15.

A Prince ought carefully to prevent his kingdom from being governed by women and favourites.

The audacity of these fifteen maxims wrung a grim smile from Louis XIII. He, however, carefully put the paper by, in the presence of the wily Capuchin; and desired the reverend father to assure himself that he had perfect faith in the fidelity, ability and resource of M. le Cardinal.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

[1] The Queen-mother seems also to have acquiesced in the propriety of this dismissal: "La reine-mère vint au conseil où l'on résolu la liberté de M. de Vendôme, et l'éloignement de Madame de Fargis."—Journal de Richelieu.

[2] "On résolut, aussi, de mander au Marquis de Mirabel que le roy désiroit qu'il vescut en France comme les ambassadeurs de France font

en Espagne ; et qu'il ne vint plus au Louvre sans audience, et ne pensât plus n'y sa femme d'avoir libre entrée, laquelle ils avaient usurpée jusques à présent."—Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] "Mécontent de la Reyne Régnante contre M. le Cardinal." Richelieu always speaks of himself in the third person.—Ibid.

[5] "La petite Lavaux a dit au cardinal que la colère de la reine avoit été jusqu'au point de dire : Je ne luy pardonnerai jamais—non jamais ! " —Ibid.

[6] Journal du Cardinal de Richelieu ès Orages de la Cour, &c. &c.

[7] Sister of the brothers De Luynes. The Duchess, when Madame de Vernet, had been dismissed for her share in the disorders of the court when at Amiens. She had subsequently married the Duke de Bouillon.

[8] "La Reine a encore tenu ce même langage à M. de Chaulnes (Honoré de Luynes) le 2 Janvier, 1631, à ce qu'il dit à M. le Cardinal."

[9] One of the four secretaries of state, and often sent by the King to expostulate with Queen Anne.

[10] Walter Montague, then a monk of St. Martin de Pontoise, and greatly in the confidence of the Queens.

[11] Journal du Cardinal de Richelieu.

[12] Probably to Madame de Chevreuse.

[13] "Ces lettres parlaient de la mort du Roi advenant, de faire épouser la reine à Monsieur. Elle écrit au Comte de Cramail qu'elle envoyait des mémoires à la reine contre le Cardinal. Les lettres tésmoignent un véritable amour entre elle et le Comte de Cramail."—Journal de Richelieu.

[14] "Le Marquis de Mirabel dit à Bonnevil, quoique piqué de la défense d'entrer au Louvre, qu'il eût voulu qu'on eût osté Madame de Fargis il y a longtemps."—Ibid.

[15] "Elle répondit, qu'elle serait bien méchante de dire quelque chose contre lui ; n'en ayant aucun sujet."—Ibid.

[16] "Il arriva, comme la reyne se couche à minuit, une grosse et grande bougie qui dure jusqu'à neuf ou dix heures du matin, s'éteignit sur les quatre heures du matin. La reyne envoya quérir le dit Censure pour lui demander si cela ne signifioit qu'elle dût perdre ? " "On dit que la reine a diverses prophécies, qui lui disent que dans la fin de 1631 elle sera aussi heureuse et grande que jamais ! "—Ibid.

[17] "Louis déclara que le Petit Luxembourg demeureroit à Richelieu. Il fallut encore que la Reine Marie dévorât encore le chagrin d'apprendre qu'on faisoit des changements dans son palais au gré du Cardinal et de sa nièce, qu'on y bâtissoit des bains, et qu'on y touchoit même à la maîtresse muraille du Grand Palais."—Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de France.

[18] Sir Herbert Croft, who, espousing the faith of Rome, became a lay-brother of the Benedictines of Douay, 1607. Croft died April 1632

leaving four sons and three daughters, born in wedlock previous to his profession. Croft and Montague were heart and soul devoted to the interests of Anne of Austria.

[19] Journal de Richelieu—Retraite de Monsieur.

[20] Journal du Cardinal de Richelieu. The duke had an interview with the Princess de Conty, which lasted three hours. The same evening these illustrious ladies, Mesdames de Conty, de Mouay, and the Duchess d'Ornano, conversing together, betrayed their suspicion of the flight of Monsieur, which Richelieu states that they could only have learned from Queen Anne. "Je gage que Monsieur n'aura pas le cœur de publier qu'il est sorty à cause du traitement qu'on fait à la Reyne sa mère," said Madame d'Ornano. "Si fera, que je croy," replied Madame de Conty. "Il le fera," continued the princess; "j'en suis asseurée; et je vous dis que la Reyne savoit bien sa sortie." This conversation Richelieu remembered.

[21] "Que peu s'en étoit fallu qu'elle ne fust évanouie quand Monsieur luy avoit mandé qu'il s'en alloit de la cour."

[22] Jean Souffran, Jesuit, confessor to Marie de' Medici and to Louis XIII. He followed the queen in her exile, and died at Flushing in 1641.

[23] Mem. Recondite.—Mém. du Cardinal de Richelieu.—Notice des Editeurs. MSS., Bibl. Imp., Lettres de Marie de' Medici.—F. Colbert.

[24] Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de France, t. 4.

[25] "Le roy parlant du conseil qu'il prit pour ce regard dit à tout le monde, que la nécessité de ses affaires ne lui pouvoit permettre d'en prendre d'autre."

[26] Mém. du Cardinal de Richelieu.—Leti, Teatro Gallico.—"La Reine-mère," writes Bassompierre, "fut encore sollicitée par le Roy de s'accommoder avec le Cardinal. Mais comme elle est très entière et opiniâtre, et que la plaie était encore récente, elle n'y put être portée."

[27] Mém. de Motteville, t. 1.

[28] Mém. de Motteville.—Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII.—Journal de Richelieu.

[29] "La Reine prit seulement une robe de chambre, et toute en chemise passa chez la Reine sa belle-mère, qu'elle trouva dans son lit assise sur son séant. Elle tenoit les genoux embrassés, ne sachant que deviner de ce mystère."—Motteville, t. 1.

[30] Motteville, t. 1; MS. Beth. B. Imp., Fontanieu.

[31] Motteville, t. 1.—Victor Cousin, Vie de Madame de Hautefort.

[32] Madame de Senécé was first *dame du palais* to Queen Anne.

[33] Cousin, Vie de Madame de Hautefort, p. 10.

[34] Bassompierre states, "Que les larmes de la Reine-mère ne couloient pas, mais se dardoient hors de ses yeux."

[35] MS. Bibl. Imp. Fontanieu, 262, p. 126. Madame de Guercheville remained as lady-in-waiting on the Queen. She had also her favourites, Caterina Selvaggio, and M. Fabroni and his wife.

[36] MS. Bibl. Imp. Fontanieu, 262, p. 131. MS. Dupuy, Bibl. Imp., 49.

The King sent the secretary of state, Ville-aux-Clercs, to inform his mother, "Qu'elle avait liberté de sortir, et de se promener lorsque le temps le voudroit permettre." Also, that M. Vaultier, her physician, should return to her when she had obeyed the command of the King to retire to Moulins.—Aubéry, Mém. pour servir à l'Histoire du Card. de Richelieu. Lettre de Ville-aux-Clercs.

[37] Journal du Cardinal de Richelieu. "L'ambassadeur tesmoigna au Roi, et ensuite à tant d'autre personnes, le déplaisir qu'il avait de ce refus, et qu'il était sur le point d'en faire une plainte publique au Nonce, et aux autres ambassadeurs, mais il s'était retenu par les persuasions de son secrétaire."

[38] MS. Bibl. Imp. Fontanieu, 262, p. 131.

[39] Marie de' Medici à Louis XIII. ; Bibl. Imp., MS. Font., 262, p. 135.

[40] "The Queen pertinaciously demanded that her physician, Vaultier, should return to her. The King promised that he should meet her at Moulins. Meantime, however, Marie was informed of his committal to the Bastille. The King consented that two of the Queen's women should return to the Luxembourg, to pack up her wardrobe and rich effects. Also that Calignon, her secretary, might visit, and arrange her papers."

[41] The King seems animated by the most perfect good faith throughout his correspondence during Marie's detention at Compiègne. His Majesty appeared willing to make any concession, short of permitting the Queen-mother to return to Paris. Finding that Marie's objections to Moulin were not to be overcome, he offered her the choice of the castle of Angers or of any other château in that government. He proposed that she should occupy the castle of Blois ; he offered to dismiss her guards and to provide that everywhere the Queen should be treated as "souveraine dame, mère, et reine." Louis wished his mother to quit Compiègne, to contradict the reports that he had arrested and confined her to that palace. Marie, with her usual obstinacy, protested that nothing should induce her to leave Compiègne, except to rejoin his Majesty in Paris. "Elle a envoyé quérir des soyes pour travailler à des ouvrages, à présent que les jours sont grands," wrote d'Estrées to the secretary, Ville-aux-Clercs.

[42] Information faite par M. de Nesmond, Maître des Requêtes, sur la sortie de la Reine-mère de Compiègne.—Aubéry, Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. du Card. de Richelieu.

[43] Ibid. The bishop was tried for high treason ; suspended from his episcopal functions ; and was restored only after the decease of the Cardinal.—Urquefort, L'Ambassadeur et ses Fonctions, livre 1, p. 112.

[44] René Dubec, premier Marquis de Vardes. The marquis married Hélène d'O. His son, René II. du nom, espoused Jacqueline de Benil, Countess de Moret ; and their eldest son, the third Marquis de Vardes, Count de Moret, was the celebrated cavalier of Louis XIV., captain of the Swiss and body guards.

[45] Lettre de Louis XIII. à Marie de' Medici.—Bibl. Imp. MS. Font. 264.
[46] Journal de Richelieu.
[47] Le Père Chanteloube was banished, or rather fled, to Brussels, to avoid arrest for an alleged connivance in a plot to carry off Madame de Combalet. "Afin de mettre le cardinal à la raison, quand elle auroit ce qu'il aimoit tant. Mademoiselle de Rambouillet était avec elle : elle alloit voir Madame de Rambouillet." The plot was real—one of Marie de' Medici's insane expedients to annoy the Cardinal.
[48] M. de St. Etienne married Marie de Tremblay, sister of Father Joseph. The Abbess of the Val de Grâce was a sister of M. de St. Etienne, and therefore honoured with marks of gracious notice by the famous Capuchin.
[49] Journal du Cardinal de Richelieu.—Amsterdam, 1664.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Vie du Maréchal de Marillac. Bayle Dict. Tallemant des Réaux. Bassompierre. Mém. du Sieur de Pontis ; the which contain a full detail of the trial and execution of the unfortunate marshal, as de Pontis was the officer charged with the guard of Marillac after his arrest.
[52] Aubéry, Mém. pour l'Hist. du Cardinal de Richelieu, t. 5.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Mémoire donné au Roy par le Cardinal de Richelieu après que la Reyne-mère l'eut éloigné de sa maison, touchant les cabales dans la cour. Aubéry, t. 5, p. 266. "Il ne faut pas croire, Sire, qu'on puisse avoir des preuves mathématiques des conspirations et des cabales ; elles ne se connoissent ainsi que par l'évènement, lorsqu'elles ne sont plus capables de remèdes," writes the politic minister.

CHAPTER VI

1631–1637

ANNE OF AUSTRIA, MADEMOISELLE DE LA FAYETTE, AND THE DUCHESS DE CHEVREUSE

After the return of Anne of Austria from Compiègne, her restless spirit subsided. Everywhere the policy and the will of Richelieu were dominant: alliance with him conferred power, and opposition to his fiats, disgrace and ignominy. The palace swarmed with his spies, and even in the retirement of her bedchamber, Anne knew that the Cardinal's wary eye tracked her actions and analysed her motives. But one fact foiled the will of the Cardinal—and that was her own indomitable hate and enmity. Had the Queen joined her interests to those of Richelieu—had she smiled on the minister and declared herself favourable to his policy and to his power—the aspect of Anne's daily life would probably have been transformed from a lot of obscurity and persecution to the most brilliant and powerful position ever occupied by a queen-consort of France. The proposition had been more than once made to her by the Cardinal through Mesdames de Chevreuse and de Fargis.[1] Often, Richelieu was heard to lament the division subsisting between himself and Queen Anne, and to laud rapturously her beauty, wit and sagacity; while

he pathetically deplored that these rare gifts should be employed in plots against the government, in upholding rebel vassals of the crown, and above all, in supporting M. d'Orléans in his criminal attempts to inflict upon France the curse of civil war and foreign invasion. The hidden motives of this disloyalty and indifference to the interests and glory of her adopted country, the Cardinal discerned in the uncertainty of the King's life, and in the hope which ever animated the childless Queen that on the death of Louis XIII. she might a second time ascend the throne as the consort of the brother and successor of her husband. Actuated by this wicked foresight, Anne, Richelieu averred and with much apparent truth, sacrificed her conjugal and queenly duty, and made no effort to conciliate her husband or to efface from his suspicious mind the impression cast thereon by the revelations consequent on the trial of Chalais. No relations could be colder than those subsisting between Louis and his consort during the winter and the spring of the years 1631–2. The King avoided his wife in private; while in public, ceremonious etiquette divided them. Anne never set foot within the King's apartments; all her communications with his Majesty passed through the hands of Richelieu, and were generally imparted to the minister by the Spanish ambassador or by Madame de Senécé. When Louis visited his palaces of Compiègne, Fontainebleau, Versailles or Vincennes, notice was given to her Majesty, who made pre-

paration to follow the King, or accepting the alternative generally offered, she retired to St. Germain and lived there in strict privacy. Anne now received a liberal allowance for her privy purse: at this period the sum amounted to ten thousand pounds yearly, which she disposed of at will, and upon which no demand was made for expenses connected with her household.

With the people of Paris Anne was popular; there was a fascination in her smile and manner which made the Parisians greet her with enthusiasm; besides, they half resented her shabby equipages, and the absence of pompous *appareil*, and of the attendants, which had formed the escort of the queens her predecessors. The Queen was never attended by more than three ladies; and the edict, given after the trial of Chalais, suspended the functions of the noblemen of her household excepting when the royal pair made a joint progress. The people, therefore, cheered their young Queen on her dreary progresses to the convents of Val de Grâce and the Carmelites of the Rue St. Jacques, despite her well-known mutinous defiance of the will of her liege lord Louis XIII. and the law of his minister. The Queen was, nevertheless, compelled to dissimulate her discontent; utter isolation might lead to her banishment from the capital, could Louis be persuaded that her presence had little influence on the assembling at the Louvre of the few great personages in the good graces of the Cardinal, who composed the court. She had, therefore,

summoned Mirabel to the Val de Grâce—who obeyed her behests at the risk of being arrested, conducted to the frontier and dismissed the realm —to request him to wait upon Richelieu and hint, in the name of his Catholic Majesty, that "the latter regretted his Eminence did not frequent the *lever* or the saloon of Queen Anne his sister, as such intimacy could not fail to be productive of happy results and might give M. le Cardinal opportunity for friendly counsel."[2] Richelieu thanked the ambassador for his obliging discourse, but gave no intimation as to whether he purposed to act in accord thereto. Probably the Cardinal preferred to trust to the good offices of Madame de Chevreuse to bring about a better understanding between the Queen and himself, rather than to venture alone into her Majesty's presence. The approaching return of Marie de Rohan to court excited in the bosom of the powerful minister hopes which were never realised. He professed profound admiration for the clever and witty Duchess; he wished for her friendly alliance, and if the scandalous chronicles of this reign are to be believed, he desired of her something more in addition. Marie, wearied of her enforced sojourn at Dampierre, and anxious to share the power of her friend Châteauneuf, befooled the Cardinal by professions of admiration, and by promises of converting Anne of Austria from his foe to a devoted ally.[1] The adoration which King Louis began to lavish on Mademoiselle de Hautefort, any comment upon which his

Majesty fiercely resented, began to inflict uneasiness on the minister. Anne had already thrown the glamour of her fascinations over her young *dame d'atours*, and showed no jealousy of her influence with the King; while Marie de Hautefort bravely informed Richelieu, "that she loved and revered her royal mistress, and could not blame her Majesty if, when surrounded by neglect and persecutions, she had recourse to the sympathy and aid of her brother King Philip." One of the most remarkable faculties possessed by the Queen was the power of commanding the affectionate attachment of her principal ladies; those who most disapproved of her intrigues when they entered her service, never afterwards betrayed her to the minister. The gentle manners of the Queen, her apparent helplessness, her affectionate condescension, the interest she showed in the personal affairs of her friends and the tearful softness of her blue eyes, were powerful weapons against the ascendency of the Cardinal within the precincts of the palace.

Meantime, the sombre and imperious admiration of Louis XIII. filled the mind of Marie de Hautefort with foreboding. Amongst the beautiful women of the era of Louis XIII., Marie de Hautefort stands prominent, as one of the most noble, heroic, and virtuous. Firm in her principles and devoted in her friendship and duty to the Queen her mistress, Marie seems to have confided to Anne her misgivings. Endowed with a heart worthy of a queen or of a heroine, Marie at

first beheld with complacency the homage of her King, and accepted with elation the assiduities of Richelieu. For her sake and to obtain the coveted interview, Louis daily repaired twice and thrice to the apartments of the Queen, where Mademoiselle de Hautefort was often summoned from a conference with her Majesty to become the recipient of the sighs and plaints of the King. Anne comforted and reassured her friend; the King professed sentiments purely Platonic; he wanted, he said, the solace of friendship and confidential intercourse; he liked to cavil at his minister; above all he desired faithful, exclusive attachment. Marie, inspired with genuine compassion for the dreariness of a life of emotions so repressed, accepted, with the secret sanction of the Queen, the office of comforter. Anne gloried in the hope that in this *liaison* she descried the future germ of her enemy's downfall. The King's bashful shyness in his intercourse with Marie allayed the most prudish suspicion. It is related that one day Louis abruptly entered the Queen's closet, when Anne was sitting *tête-à-tête* with her *dame d'atours*, who with heightened colour was reading to her Majesty a note, which on the entrance of the King she hastily folded. A dark shadow gloomed over the King's brow, and he peremptorily demanded to see the letter so hastily hidden. Treason to his realm might afford a daily pastime to Anne of Austria, while treason against his attachment might give delight to Marie de Hautefort—for Louis had been informed

by his minister of the admiration professed by the Duc de Liancour and the young Prince de Marsillac [3] for the lovely young *dame d'atours*. By some historians, the letter is said to have been written by Richelieu, and that it contained offers of a reciprocal friendly alliance; others state that the epistle congratulated Mademoiselle de Hautefort on her favour, and ended by a demand for protection from some cringing courtier. True to herself, however, Marie refused to gratify the curiosity of the King, and to end the debate she hid the note in her bosom.[4] Anne, meantime, looked on with mocking derision, especially when she beheld the confusion of the King and his hesitation to draw the note from its hiding-place. Her Majesty, however, presently seized the hands of Mademoiselle de Hautefort and laughingly exhorted the King "to take the note whilst she thus held its owner captive." Louis blushed, stammered, advanced and retreated; and at length, taking up from the hearth a small pair of silver tongs, he tried to possess himself of the note which was visible beneath the transparent lace which covered Marie's bosom. The peals of laughter which this extraordinary device drew from the Queen, and the blushing confusion and deprecatory looks of Marie, fairly drove Louis from the apartment.[5] The ladies then hastened to destroy the letter, just in time to forestal a formal summons for its surrender by the under-secretary of state, Machault. "Mademoiselle de Hautefort is of tall stature and fine figure, her

eyes are blue, large, open and full of vivacity; her nose is aquiline, her mouth small and rosy, while her smile displays teeth, white and even as pearls. Two little dimples gave a grace to the lovely mouth and cheeks. The colour of her hair is *blond cendré*, of which she has an abundance, falling in ringlets around a beautiful and stately throat. In her aspect there is altogether so much dignity, gentleness, and grace, that it excites sentiments of tenderness, awe, and esteem." Such is the description given of the charms of the young *dame d'atours* by a contemporary.[6] The heavy assiduities of Louis were often felt as insupportable restraints by one so gifted and charming, who beheld all the cavaliers of the court vanquished by her fascinations, but nevertheless withheld from offering personal homage, daunted by their dread of exciting the resentment of the sovereign. Madame de la Flotte, however, did not fail to remind her grand-daughter that the homage of Louis XIII. had enabled her adorers to discern many a captivating grace hitherto undiscovered, when Marie was the humble *fille d'honneur* of the exiled Queen-mother. When the Louvre rang with the praises of Mademoiselle de Hautefort[7] and the courtiers celebrated the charms of—

Hautefort la merveille!
Réveille
Tous les sens de Louis,
Quand sa bouche vermeille
Lui fait voir un souris!

the Cardinal deemed it time to provide an antidote, which he summoned in the form of the

Duchess de Chevreuse, and in the promotion to a more distinguished position in the royal household of another fair young maid of honour, Louise Angélique Motier de la Fayette. Richelieu felt that if the Duchess was on his side, he had nothing to fear from the probable combination of the Queen and La Hautefort. He relied on the sagacity of Marie de Rohan [8] to resume her old ascendency over the heart of Anne of Austria, and to drive into obscurity the presumptive girl who had dared to aspire to royal favour and to the confidence of the Queen. After five years of exile Madame de Chevreuse, therefore, re-appeared permanently, as she hoped, on the scene of her ancient triumphs, much to the dismay of her husband, who during her enforced residence at Dampierre, had been revelling in luxurious ease, troubling himself seldom with the wishes or the fate of his consort. Madame de Chevreuse, as the widow and sole heiress of the late Constable de Luynes, had brought her second husband immense wealth in jewels, lands and rich effects. The Duc de Chevreuse was recklessly extravagant: being in want of a coach, he was once known to command fifteen to be built that he might select the most comfortable. His donations to dissolute companions were immense. The Duke, nevertheless, knew how to uphold his dignity as became a scion of Lorraine-Guise and greatly disapproved of his wife's proceedings. The return of the Duchess, therefore, was an event which he deprecated, the more especially, as, under the cloak of her new

favour with Richelieu and the Lord-Keeper Châteauneuf, Madame de Chevreuse commenced a suit against her husband for profligate expenditure during her absence, and demanded a *séparation de corps et de biens* which she easily obtained. Monsieur de Chevreuse, therefore, retired from the Hôtel Luynes, while the Duchess complacently established herself alone in that splendid mansion and prepared for the career before her. Anne received her old friend with open arms; and this cordiality ought to have aroused Richelieu to examine the sincerity of the professions of the Duchess. Madame de Chevreuse became a daily visitor at the Louvre, though Louis refused to reinstate her in her old apartments within the palace and evidently regarded her presence as an unwelcome intrusion. The court, nevertheless, during the next few months, was joyous and gallant. Richelieu and his master required the splendour and excitement of a few brilliant festivals to neutralize, in degree, the gloom everywhere prevalent, and to divert public attention from politics and from the discontent manifested in the provinces at the exile of the Queen-mother and of the heir-presumptive. "The court was very agreeable at this period," recounts Mademoiselle:[9] "the attachment of the King to Madame de Hautefort contributed greatly to our pleasure, as his Majesty tried to find her daily diversion. Hunting was the greatest of the King's recreations; and we often accompanied his Majesty. Mesdames de Hautefort and St. Louis, d'Escars

and de Beaumont attended me. We were attired in our respective colours, and rode palfreys richly accoutred. To shade our complexion from the sun, we all wore hats ornamented with a great quantity of drooping plumes. The hunt always was made to take the direction of some great house, where we found a sumptuous collation prepared. When we returned the King usually entered my coach, sitting between me and Madame de Hautefort. When his Majesty was in good humour, he conversed very agreeably. At this period he permitted us to speak of the Cardinal de Richelieu ; and as a sign that he was not displeased at our comments, he joined in our conversation. As soon as we returned to the Louvre we repaired to the saloon of the Queen, where I took pleasure in waiting upon her Majesty whilst she supped, her maidens handing the dishes. Three times a week we had the diversion of music, and the King's musicians attended. The airs played and sung were generally composed by the King: he also wrote the words of the songs, which had always Madame de Hautefort for their theme. The humour of the King at this period was so gallant, that at the country collations which he gave us, he sometimes declined to take his place at table but waited upon the ladies, though we were aware that this civility had but one object. He took his repast after we had finished, but pretended not to pay more attention to Madame de Hautefort than to any one of us, so anxious was his Majesty to conceal his gallant

devoirs. Nevertheless, if any dispute happened between them, all our diversions were immediately suspended; and if the King came during this interval into the Queen's saloon, he spoke to no one, neither did any person dare to address his Majesty. He retired into a corner and there sat, yawned and slept. The King's melancholy aspect chilled everybody, and during this interval between the quarrel and reconciliation, he consoled himself by putting down on paper all that he had said to Madame de Hautefort with her replies, and so true is this fact, that after his Majesty's death copious minutes were found amongst his private papers detailing at length all the quarrels he had had with his mistresses, to the eternal praise of whom, be it avowed, as also to his Majesty's honour, he never loved any but the most virtuous and discreet of women." Louis had the greatest horror of profligate *liaisons :* and though alienated from the Queen, he was rigidly faithful to her. " Mademoiselle de Hautefort told me," writes Madame de Motteville, " that the decorum of the King was such that he seldom talked to her on any subjects but about his dogs, his birds and hunting. I have seen her, with all her wisdom and virtue, relate with derision the fright the King was in when with her alone, and that at such periods he scarcely dared approach near enough to discourse with her." On occasions, however, when the King and Mademoiselle de Hautefort were alone, Marie spoke earnestly respecting the Queen and besought the King to

become reconciled to her, and the subject of their frequent disputes, to which Mademoiselle alludes, was the zeal which Marie displayed for the cause of her royal mistress. Louis confided his suspicions and stated his conviction that Anne was the accomplice of Chalais, and that he owed his life and crown to the vigilance of Richelieu. "The Queen hates me—she intrigues against my realm —she is Spanish at heart—she is perpetually plotting against my happiness." This conviction nothing could ever shake. "Madame," continued Louis, "mark my words—you love and support an ungrateful woman. Wait, and see how one day she will repay your services!" Marie de Hautefort, like many others, believed fervently in the Queen with her sweet smiles and gentle seductions. Anne was mistress of the arts of persuasion, and the disgraces which followed her persistent petty treasons seemed the more to endear her to her adherents. Perhaps her power lay in the unpopularity of the King. The penalties, moreover, with which her deviations were visited, lay open to the comment and pity of the court, while the cause of this severity was often concealed by the express command of Louis, who shrank from the publication of his domestic miseries. Anne persuaded her friends that her clandestine correspondences with Spain were innocent, and that her stolen conferences with the Spanish ambassador and with Gerbier, Montagu and Croft, Catholic agents of Queen Henrietta of England, were legitimate. She was persecuted:

her Majesty, therefore, appealed to the sympathy of her brother King Philip and to that of Marie de' Medici and of Monsieur, and disregarded the tyrannical orders of the minister to be silent and submit. The word of Anne of Austria, as Richelieu often observed, could not be depended upon. Her Majesty, it was true, rarely perjured herself, but her modes of evasion and equivocation were so diverse and ingenious that she seldom avowed what she wished to conceal, even under the most rigid examination; or promised exactly that which she knew she had no intention to fulfil. If Anne could have accepted her lot and her uncongenial consort with resignation, her court might have been brilliant and joyous, despite the absence of the great personages disgraced by the policy of the minister. Beautiful women, such as the Duchesses de Montbazon,[10] de Chevreuse, and the Princess de Guémené,[11] adorned the court circle; the wit of the Marquise de Sablé, and of the Prince de Marsillac, of Madame de Rambouillet and of the Princesses Marie and Anne de Gonzague-Nevers, gave *verve* and animation; the rich heiress of the elder branch of Rohan, the grand-daughter of Sully, was a prize sufficient to excite a *piquant* emulation amongst the younger courtiers; while the charms of Anne's maidens, Hautefort and Lafayette and de Chemerault, and the grace and repartee of Mademoiselle de Vendôme, all might have contributed to the renown of the court. Moreover, there stood in close proximity to the throne Marguerite de Montmorency, Princess de

Condé, in the bright zenith of her charms, and still encircled by the halo of the mad passion of Henri le Grand. Besides her, was her daughter Anne Geneviève de Bourbon, lovely like her mother, of strong intellect, apt at political intrigue, in the which she had been nurtured, but shrinking at this very period from sharing the grand ancestral home, name and mature years of the Duc de Longueville. By Madame de Condé was her son—after M. d'Orléans, heir of the crown—afterwards known as the great Condé, whose powerful arm first shook and then established the throne of the future Louis Quatorze. The eagle eye of Richelieu had marked this noble heir of the Condés, and with unfaltering faith in his own fortunes and ability, he had resolved on the first fortunate contingency—some opportunity when the dark jealousy of Louis Treize had been roused against the princes of his blood—to unite the young Duc d'Enghien with his niece, Claire Clémence de Maillé-Brézé. Mademoiselle de Brézé was one of the playfellows of Mademoiselle in her nursery at the Tuileries: she was excessively *petite* in stature, and wore high-heeled shoes, which entailed upon her many a fall while dancing the *leste courante* with the merry princess, who seems to have amused herself heartily with the terrors of the timid child. One day Mademoiselle ordered a ballet to be performed in honour of the return of her father, Monsieur, to Paris, in which she and her maidens performed. During a scene of the ballet, a number of caged birds were

liberated, and a linnet, after flying about the apartment, nestled into one of the deep plaits of the ruff worn by Mademoiselle de Brézé, who screamed with fright and fainted as the bird fluttered about her neck. It was to propitiate Madame de Condé that Richelieu caused that wondrous doll's house to be constructed, the first that had ever been seen in France, at a cost of 2000 crowns and presented it to Mademoiselle de Bourbon.[12] The trusty friend and equerry of Anne of Austria, de Rochechouart, Chevalier de Jars, had also received a pardon and a recall from his banishment in England, where he had remained ever since the memorable embassy of the Duke of Buckingham to Paris, having been convicted of carrying to London certain missives addressed to the ambassador by his royal mistress. The Christmas of 1631 passed away in this negative state of tranquillity, when, with the public declaration of the marriage of Monsieur with Marguerite,[13] sister of the Duke of Lorraine, occurred the rising in Languedoc on behalf of Monsieur and of his mother the exiled Queen, and the news that Spain was preparing to invade France at the summons of the heir-presumptive. The gallant Duc de Montmorency, seduced by the promises and entreaties of Monsieur, and misled by his statements of the forces he could muster in support of his revolt, promised to receive the Duke in Languedoc, and to place the fortresses and towns therein in the possession of the rebel forces. The Duke pledged himself to Montmorency to enter France at the

head of 2000 men—levies which he purposed to raise in the Netherlands with funds placed at his disposal by the Queen his mother who had disposed of her jewels for this purpose, and by the aid of the treasury of Spain. Moreover, the Duke of Lorraine had engaged to join their army with a reinforcement of 1500 men, while a powerful body of Spanish troops was to appear on the frontiers of Savoy, to aid in the overthrow of the usurping minister, and thus to achieve the salvation of France, the reunion of the royal family and the liberation of the King. Unhappily some private sources of discontent rendered Montmorency an easy dupe to the sophistry of Monsieur.[14] He allied himself with the Duke, promised to take up arms in his cause, and to open to him a high road through his government of Languedoc. Having agreed to the convention, Montmorency effectually closed against himself the avenues of mercy in the breast of the suspicious Louis, by sending the Count de Grammont to assure the King of his fidelity, and that the rumours current of his alliance with Monsieur were unfounded. Three days afterwards, Monsieur made his appearance at Lodève, at the head of an undisciplined band, half Walloon, half Spanish, officered by a few French adventurers and malcontents, ready to throw for the same lot as Monsieur. With such an army of adventurers, the Duke hesitated not to endanger the lives of cavaliers like Montmorency, Elbœuf, Moret, and M. de la Valette, the husband of his half-sister, Gabrielle

de Bourbon; and to make the risk still more fatal, he entered France three days before the period agreed upon and while Montmorency was at Lunel. All true patriots throughout the realm, much as they deprecated Richelieu's harsh treatment of the mother, brother and wife of his sovereign, rose to repulse the invaders. Marshal Schomberg was despatched with an army to bar Monsieur's advance on Orleans and to offer battle to the rebels, while the Marshal de la Force entered Languedoc by the Pont St. Esprit, at the head of a second division. The marriage of Monsieur with Marguerite de Lorraine was solemnly declared null and void, by a mandate of the privy council and by edict of the Parliament, while Louis himself, accompanied by Queen Anne, departed for the scene of conflict.

Before the arrival of his Majesty, the fight of Castelnaudari had put down the rebellion, by the capture of Montmorency on the battle-field and by the total rout of the rebels by the troops under Schomberg. Monsieur fled from the field without making effort to retrieve the fortune of the day or to save the lives of the brave men deluded to their ruin by his representations. The Duke sought refuge in Beziers, himself secure from the punishment due to his rebellion, by his position as heir-presumptive. A great example of royal justice, nevertheless, was needed; and it was decreed that the brave and chivalrous Montmorency should suffer the death of a traitor on the scaffold as a wholesome warning to the Duc de Bouillon, to

Soissons and other seditious subjects at large. Monsieur, therefore, was informed that pardon for his late enterprise might be obtained, on condition that he abandoned Montmorency and other noble captives taken at Castelnaudari to the penalty they had incurred, and promised for the future "*to love* and to support the Cardinal-minister." All this Gaston promised with alacrity; his craven spirit cowered beneath the threats of Louis and his minister who were now on their way to Toulouse, followed by the Princesse de Condé who journeyed thither to intercede for her gallant brother. On the 27th of October, Montmorency was brought under escort by the Marshal de Brézé to Toulouse; and a commission was constituted, headed by the Lord-Keeper Châteauneuf, to try him for treason. On the morrow the Duke appeared before his judges. On the 30th of October, 1632, sentence was pronounced, and during the afternoon of the same day Montmorency expiated his crime on the scaffold. Incredible exertions had been made to save his life. Monsieur sent special messengers three times to implore his pardon. Madame de Condé knelt at the feet of the Cardinal imploring his mercy, having been refused admittance to his Majesty's presence. The Dukes d'Epernon and de Chevreuse, the Cardinal de la Valette [15] and the Papal Nuncio Spada, implored that the doom of death might be averted. Louis gloomily replied to all supplications: "The fate of M. de Montmorency remains with the Parliament of Toulouse, his judge!" In former years,

the Duke had subscribed himself the devoted admirer and servant of Anne of Austria; and now, in Montmorency's great extremity, the Duc d'Epernon requested audience of her Majesty to implore her intercession. Anne turned very pale; she hesitated, but at length promised to speak to M. le Cardinal. Around the arm of the Duke, when the sleeve of his habit was cut on the field of battle to enable the surgeons to dress his wounds, a bracelet was found containing the portrait of the Queen. The Marshal de Brézé, the officer to whom Montmorency surrendered, took the bracelet, which he sent to his kinsman, Richelieu. "The King," says Anquetil, "who was before disposed to show mercy to the Duke, became inflexibly resolved on his death, when he was informed by his minister that a portrait had been taken from the person of the Duke, the original of which respect forbade him to name; but a portrait, nevertheless, which deeply interested the King." [16] Whether Anne was aware of this circumstance cannot be ascertained; she, nevertheless, ventured to appeal to Richelieu, who in his conduct to the Queen mingled a certain gallantry even in his fiercest repulses, and when she condescended to petition, it had often prevailed. Perhaps the thought of the brave hearts and noble reputations wrecked by her levity may have inspired Anne with courage on this occasion. The Duke de Bellegarde owed the disfavour which had terminated in exile to her smiles; Buckingham had perished by the hand of an assassin when arming in her

behalf—and as some believed, by her secret command, for the invasion of her adopted country; Montmorency was about to perish on a scaffold; the Duc d'Orléans, betrayed in the first instance by her beauty and alleged regard into treasonable conspiracy against the state, remained a perpetual dishonour to the crown to which his birth rendered him heir-presumptive, and lived an alien from France. Upon Mesdames de Vernet, de Chevreuse, de Fargis, ruin had fallen for their faithful devotion to Anne of Austria; while exile, death and imprisonment had been, besides, the fate of numerous less known agents in her intrigues. Anne, therefore, took courage, and resolved to make an attempt to save the life of Montmorency. Moreover, the Queen often asserted that she possessed power over the inclinations of the Cardinal-minister, and that her supplications, when she condescended to make such, would prevail over the most important state interests. This assertion, which was frequently made by Anne, is not devoid of probability. Richelieu's anger at her underhand proceedings seems ever prompted by secret *dépit;* while the vexatious persecutions by the which he avenged himself, appeared rather to bespeak mortification and an irritable impatience at not being able to command submission and confidence. Richelieu listened to Anne's pleadings for the life of Montmorency in silence and tears. "*Je plains M. de Montmorency; mais il ne peut éviter la mort, ou une prison perpétuelle,*" said he. Her Majesty then asked the Cardinal whether intercession with

the King would avail, as she was resolved to petition le Roi Monseigneur. "Madame," replied Richelieu significantly, "it is quite possible that your prayers will make a great impression on the mind of the King your consort, they might even induce him to grant your petition; nevertheless, Madame, I should recommend your silence, for the violence which his Majesty might lay on his own wishes and resolves, would be likely to bring about a return of the serious illness under which the King laboured at Lyons. You understand, Madame!"[17] Anne comprehended that she had received a tacit interdiction, and that if she scorned his prohibition the Cardinal intended to warn the King that her entreaties to him to revoke his resolves had been taken in defiance of the apprehensions expressed by Richelieu concerning the royal health —the inference thereby to be deduced being that Anne cared more for the rescue of Montmorency than for the health of her consort. Louis suffered many relentings and much mental emotion, before he suffered the strong hand of Richelieu to guide his own for the signature of the Duke's death-warrant. Strict justice, doubtless, clamoured for the head of Montmorency; but Monsieur ought not to have escaped retribution for invading France at the head of a foreign force levied by funds provided by Queen Marie and increased by contributions from the Spanish exchequer.[18] If Monsieur had possessed military talent, or even common sagacity and punctuality, a frightful civil war might have ravaged the kingdom.

This formidable invasion had been neutralised only by the childish impatience of Monsieur who arrived at Lodève three days earlier than the time fixed for the outbreak of hostilities. "As a private individual," said the King, "I would fain save M. de Montmorency, but I should not act as a king if I suffered my people to be invaded and myself to be defied by rebels. I may not exercise compassion; my duty is stern but it is inexorable." [19]

The death of the Marshal de Montmorency was first resolved in a private council, at which were present only the King, the Cardinal, his shadow the Capuchin Joseph, and Châteauneuf, lord-keeper. The crime of Montmorency was the more unpardonable, inasmuch as M. d'Orléans had been received in Languedoc with, and by the tacit consent of, the States of the province, on the demand of the Marshal—an aggravation of his treason which merited direst expiation. The matter was afterwards laid before the privy council. Richelieu opened the debate by demanding that Justice should be permitted to take her course, that a commission should be empannelled to try M. de Montmorency, and that the sentence of the judges should be confirmed. No person present dared to plead in defiance of the opinion of the Cardinal.[20] The blood of Montmorency haunted, ever afterwards, the unfortunate King. Madame la Princesse left no pause of forgetfulness to any personage who had promoted the catastrophe of her brother's overthrow. Her enmity to the Duke of

Orleans, who so dishonourably abandoned Montmorency to his fate, never relaxed. The Lord Keeper Châteauneuf, the presiding judge at the trial of the Marshal, ere long felt the effect of the vengeance of the Condé family, which refused to be propitiated by the gift of a great part of the confiscated possessions of Montmorency, including Chantilly, Ecouen, Marlou and other magnificent domains.[21] The mental and personal gifts of the Duc de Montmorency, so highly lauded by most contemporary historians, are more soberly discussed by Tallemant des Réaux, the Brantôme of the seventeenth century. "The last Duc de Montmorency," writes Tallemant,[22] "became master of his revenues at the age of nineteen. Although his eyes squinted somewhat, the Duke was a handsome man. He was an adept in the use and practice of the most refined and agreeable gestures, and spoke rather by his arms than with his tongue. He sometimes commenced a compliment and was obliged to stop half way, so that often it was as much as one could do not to laugh. He did not talk nonsense, but he had little wit and no readiness of diction. He was brave, rich, gallant, liberal, a good dancer, a graceful rider, a hospitable host to men of wit and learning, many of whom he engaged in his service and who furnished him with verses and sentiments. He gave away to the poor, he was beloved by all the world and adored by his own people. He was very generous. One day the Duke overheard a gentleman exclaim, 'If I could find any person who would lend me 20,000 crowns

for two years, my fortune would be made!' Montmorency lent the sum. At the expiration of the two years, the gentleman honourably offered the money. 'Go, monsieur,' said the Duke; 'by keeping your word you have sufficiently repaid me. I present to you this sum with all my heart.' During his passion for Madame de Sablé, the Duke one day sent her deeds, making donation of an estate worth 40,000 livres annually, which however the Marquise declined to accept. Montmorency fell desperately in love with Queen Anne of Austria, but Buckingham and his English lords counteracted that passion."

The executions over, consequent on the defeat of Castelnaudari, and the awards announced, Louis departed for Versailles, sick and dismal in mind and body and anxious to revert to confidential discussions with Mademoiselle de Hautefort. Monsieur was permitted to repair to Orleans, gratified by the assurances given him by the Capuchin Joseph, "that his Majesty pardoned his treason, but could on no account acknowledge the legality of his marriage with Marguerite de Lorraine." The Duke's penitence was always very evanescent and his fears of Richelieu acute; he therefore speedily again took occasion to retire to Brussels, on the plea that after the execution of the Duc de Montmorency his honour forbade him to remain a placid spectator of the "perfidious perfidies" of M. le Cardinal de Richelieu, which tended to the ruin of the kingdom and of the royal dynasty. Louis, on his departure from

Toulouse, left Queen Anne in the safe custody of his minister, who conducted her, attended by the Duchess de Chevreuse and the Marquise de Senécé, to Bordeaux. Much against her will, the Queen had been compelled to accompany her consort to the scene of warfare in the West, but the risk had been considered too great to suffer Anne to remain alone in the capital while the kingdom was menaced by a Spanish invasion both in Languedoc and Picardy. The ambassador Mirabel, it was true, was withdrawn from Paris, in consequence of the close alliance now subsisting between France, the Protestant princes of Germany, and Sweden, to cripple the imperial power of Ferdinand II. and to promote the downfall of Spanish predominance in the councils of Europe. Anne, nevertheless, was strongly suspected of making communications to her brother through one Gerbier, an attaché of the English embassy. Moreover, it had been ascertained that she had sent for Señor Navas, Spanish *chargé d'affaires*, then resident in Paris, who was introduced at dusk hour into an apartment of the Salles des Bains at the Louvre. The Queen addressed Navas as she passed out attended by Madame de Chevreuse on her way to the *grands appartements* and said only, though significantly, the words: "Take care of yourselves; I know that there is a traitor amongst you who betrays to M. le Cardinal all that passes." This intimation was given just before the rising in the South and excited much suspicion. Richelieu from that moment watched Madame de Chev-

reuse, Châteauneuf and others who under colour of devotion to his interests might be carrying on a double game. Châteauneuf was always present when the minister communicated to Louis the *cancans*, as well as the more important facts gleaned by his secret police. Anne, therefore, in consequence of these reports, had not been suffered to seek her accustomed refuge at St. Germain during the King's progress to the South. In answer to some inquiries made by Richelieu Madame de Chevreuse, nevertheless, had boldly replied that, " having asked her Majesty whether she might assure the King that her correspondence and conduct were such as his Majesty approved, Queen Anne had frankly replied in the affirmative. The Duchess, therefore, informs M. le Cardinal that she believes the Queen has no relations with Spain, with Monsieur, with the Queen-mother or with any person." [23]

After his return to Paris, Richelieu set himself to elucidate the mystery which tormented him, and by the aid of his trained spies to investigate more closely the life of Madame de Chevreuse. During the sojourn of Anne and her court at Bordeaux, the Cardinal had been severely indisposed from the fatigue and agitation of the late trials—so much so that for some hours his case was thought desperate. The Queen, however, had not thought proper to suspend her evening reception, and the Cardinal was informed that the beautiful Duchess and her friend Châteauneuf had danced together merrily, and had even been

overheard to make sundry uncomplimentary allusions to the sick minister. Such levity seemed ill to accord with the expressions of devotion proffered by Madame de Chevreuse, or with the gratitude so fluently professed by M. de Châteauneuf for his elevation to the high office of Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of France. The King retired to St. Germain after giving his minister a splendid welcome back to Paris, where he brooded over his regrets for the death of Montmorency, and nursed his returning indignation against the Queen, upon whom he mentally resented every fresh aggression on France made by her Spanish kindred. The Queen, again established amid the solitudes of the Louvre, summoned her little knot of intimates. These personages were Mesdames de Chevreuse, de Senécé,[24] de Montbazon, de Hautefort, de la Fayette, Madame de la Flotte, the Princess de Condé, the Lord-Keeper Châteauneuf, the Chevalier de Jars, the Count de Biron, Montagu and many personages of inferior rank who in former reigns would not have been admitted to *les petites entrées* of the Queen of France. A precious document,[25] found by M. Victor Cousin in the archives of the French Foreign Office—that rich mine of historical wealth now unfortunately closed to the public—recounts the surgings of the great Cardinal's wrath against his suspected foe, Châteauneuf, as daily he added one fact to another, until, exasperated by such ingratitude, Richelieu ordered his arrest, February 1633, and the seizure of the papers and effects of the un-

happy Lord-Keeper. The true cause of this arrest was occasioned by the mad jealousy of Richelieu, who found that he had been deceived and flouted by the beautiful woman whose professions of love and fidelity had disarmed his suspicion. Madame de Chevreuse had all along been the ally, and it must be added the mistress, of Châteauneuf, over whom she exercised such sway that the political secrets of the Cardinal, of necessity confided to the Lord-Keeper, had been betrayed to the Duchess and by her confided to Anne of Austria. Far, therefore, from having performed the conditions of her recall from exile, the Duchess had fomented and had been the soul of every hostile intrigue—"indeed the world seemed too small to hold this intriguing and turbulent pair." "Châteauneuf," writes the Cardinal in his Memoir, "mingled in all the cabals of the court; particularly he took part with our factious ladies, the principal of whom was the Duchess of Chevreuse, whose conduct and evil spirit had often displeased the King, as she never failed to join the cabals raised against his crown; but more than this, she appeared always as a dangerous leader of parties." Richelieu commences the recital of his private grievances against Châteauneuf from a very early period. "During the predominance of the Marquis d'Ancre, le Sieur de Châteauneuf was on bad terms with the Cardinal de Richelieu. When the Cardinal believed himself to be dismissed ('Journée des Dupes'), the said Sieur de Châteauneuf did all he could against him." In this curious document, the names of the

persons mentioned are indicated by ciphers: number 9 stood for Madame de Chevreuse. Richelieu accuses Châteauneuf of gross perfidy; of being on the side of Monsieur and the Queen-mother, while taking office under his ministry; of betraying state secrets to Madame de Chevreuse and even to Queen Anne; of keeping up a private and traitorous correspondence with England, of which the Cardinal had been warned by Weston, the English ambassador in Paris, who declared that the Lord-Keeper constantly corresponded with Queen Henrietta Maria, and gave pernicious advice to her Majesty upon religious questions;[26] that her Britannic Majesty had been heard several times to express disgust at the policy of the Cardinal in supporting the Protestant princes of Germany against the Emperor; adding, "that M. le Garde des Sceaux did not share in such councils, but that he was her especial friend and servant, and that France would be much better governed after the death of M. le Cardinal." Richelieu also accuses Châteauneuf of duplicity in the affair of M. de Montmorency; stating that the Lord-Keeper told M. de Chaudebonne, the confidential agent of Monsieur and others, that he had desired to save the life of the duke and had vainly made intercession—when, on the contrary, M. le Garde des Sceaux had been the first to propose the execution of the said duke, and had told the Cardinal that he would never consent to so pernicious a use of the royal clemency; that he had, moreover,

proposed that execution should be done by mandate of the council; and had angrily deprecated the resolve taken to try M. de Montmorency before a regularly constituted court; that Châteauneuf had betrayed to Madame de Chevreuse the fact of the marriage of Monsieur with Marguerite de Lorraine, when it greatly imported to the royal service that the accomplishment of such should be held secret. Châteauneuf had also tried to discredit the Cardinal de Richelieu with the Jesuit Order. He was also in frequent correspondence with the exiled rebels—with Monsieur and Queen Marie—all in defiance of his oath of fidelity to the King and of the duties and responsibilities of his office. This paper the Cardinal drew up for his own special use, and it does not seem to have been produced against the Lord-Keeper. On the 25th of February, 1633, Châteauneuf was arrested at St.-Germain-en-Laye on leaving the palace after an audience of the King, and conducted under a strong escort to his château at Ruffec, in Limousin. The day following his house in Paris was searched by the under secretaries of state, Bouthillier, Bullion and Chavigny, who seized his papers, which filled several large coffers, and conveyed them to the abode of M. de Bullion. On the 29th of February, the papers were sorted and analysed and forwarded to Richelieu, who discovered what he suspected—a large packet of letters addressed to Châteauneuf by the Duchess de Chevreuse, partly written in cipher, the key to which, however, was found in an ebony cabinet, which had

been also conveyed from the house of the Lord-Keeper, on the supposition that important papers were concealed in its secret recesses. Amongst the spoil captured were fifty-two letters from Madame de Chevreuse; thirty-one from Montagu, which treated of foreign alliances and conspiracies for the overthrow of Richelieu's power; twenty-nine letters from the Chevalier du Jars, who seems to have acted as a busy agent of M. d'Orléans in France during the late risings, and as his royal highness's servant in every mischievous intrigue for the subversion of the government; thirty-one letters from the Queen of Great Britain; and one paper of verses—all which were immediately placed in a portfolio and forwarded unopened to King Louis at St. Germain. Numbers of letters, also, were found from Lord Holland, M. de Puy-laurents, favourite-in-chief of Monsieur, from the Duke de Vendôme and the Count de Biron—all bitter opponents of the Cardinal.[27] The correspondence of Madame de Chevreuse with the Lord-Keeper was the booty which Richelieu panted to peruse, and to gain possession of which he had instituted these summary proceedings. The rage and mortification of Richelieu are not to be described when he discovered by this correspondence that the woman whom he admired, and whom he had restored to her former proud position, was faithless, and pitilessly ridiculed his weakness to his fortunate rival. What was worse, the Cardinal saw himself designated in their correspondence under a *sobriquet* too insulting and

indecent to find place in these pages. "28 [28] (Madame de Chevreuse) saw 22 (the Cardinal) to-day, when with 24 (the Queen). He paid 24 all the compliments imaginable before 28, to whom he affected to speak coldly and indifferently; but she treated him in her accustomed manner, and feigned not to perceive his humour. In reply to a jest hazarded by the Cardinal, Madame de Chevreuse rallied him, even to the point of speaking slightingly of his power. The Cardinal seemed astonished rather than angry, and changed his tone to one of civility and great courtesy. I know not whether it was that he did not wish to show anger in the presence of the Queen, or whether he did not desire to quarrel with Madame de Chevreuse. I am to see the Cardinal to-morrow at two o'clock. Be assured that Madame de Chevreuse will have left this world when she ceases to belong to you." [29] In another letter Richelieu stumbled on the following observations: "I (Madame de Chevreuse) have no news lately from the Cardinal. If he is as glad not to hear of me as I am not to hear from him, he is now highly content, and I delivered from a persecution from which time and my own good wit may free me. The tyranny of the Cardinal momentarily increases. He storms and raves because 28 (Madame de Chevreuse) does not call upon him. Twice I have written to him compliments of which he is unworthy—a thing I should never have done but for M. de Chevreuse, who tells me that is the way to buy peace. The favour of the King has raised his presumption to

a pitch which cannot be surpassed. He thinks to daunt me, and would fain persuade himself that there is nothing that I would not do to appease him, although I prefer to perish rather than to make submission. The pride of the Cardinal is intolerable to me. He said recently to my husband that my humour was unbearable to a sensitive person like himself, and that he had resolved to render me in future no especial attention, as I was not capable of conferring either friendship or confidence. I confide this only to you. Do not apprise M. de Chevreuse that you know this. He has quarrelled with me, being intimidated by the insolence of the said Cardinal, and because I would not endure such obloquy. I have that opinion of your courage and affection that I wish you to know everything that concerns me. I so entirely trust you that I deem my interests as safe in your hands as in my own. Love me with fidelity, and believe that, despite of persecution, I will ever show myself worthy thereof." Again the Duchess wrote: "To-night the Cardinal sent me a letter by express, to implore me to grant him two things: the first was, not to speak to M. de Biron, and the second, never to admit you (M. de Châteauneuf). My resolve to demonstrate my affection for M. de Châteauneuf is stronger than any consideration for the Cardinal. I have therefore excused myself to the said Cardinal, on the plea that my affairs with M. de Chevreuse compel me to see M. de Châteauneuf." The Duchess sends with this letter a valuable

diamond to her lover; she exhorts him to be firm as the precious gem she sends him, and to shine like its lustrous rays, a light amid darkness. Again she writes in the third person: "I believe that M. de Châteauneuf is absolutely devoted to Madame de Chevreuse. Madame de Chevreuse promises eternal fidelity to M. de Châteauneuf. If all the world turn against M. de Châteauneuf, Madame de Chevreuse will love and esteem him worthily. If he loves her as he states, Madame de Chevreuse will satisfy him, for all the powers of earth cannot make her change her resolve. She swears to you that this is fact, and commands you to believe it and to love faithfully." The Duchess kept this vow. To the day of his death she was faithful in her attachment to the Lord-Keeper through weal and woe, refusing to participate in any future triumphs after the death of their enemy, Richelieu, unless shared by him. Châteauneuf had passed his fiftieth year, he was plain in person, without courtly grace or wit. Amid all her aberrations, Madame de Chevreuse never abjured her one great redeeming attribute—fidelity. Bitter must have been Richelieu's reflections as he perused this correspondence, and probably pictured the mocking lip and wicked merriment of the beautiful syren whom he feared, and whom, because he so feared, he wished to bend to his toils. "The Cardinal's mad vagaries are wonderful!" continues the impracticable Duchess. "He sent for Madame de Chevreuse, and made strange complaints. He declared that she

was perpetually sparring with him in the presence of Lord Jermyn, in order that the said lord might return to his country and recount how little respect she bore him. He said he knew that Madame de Chevreuse and M. de Châteauneuf understand each other; and that she also receives M. de Biron, though all the world knows that the said Biron is in love with her—a proceeding M. le Cardinal is resolved no longer to tolerate. Madame de Chevreuse is in better health, and more resolved than ever to esteem M. de Châteauneuf as she has promised him." "Châteauneuf," writes Tallemant, "*étoit un homme tout confit en galanterie.* I have seen him ride on horseback by the Queen's coach, on the side occupied by Madame de Chevreuse, attired in a splendid satin robe, and displaying his horsemanship. The Cardinal was devoured with jealousy, especially as it was suspected that the Garde des Sceaux was also an admirer of the Queen." The thunder of the minister's wrath soon fell on these unhappy triflers. The very nature of the correspondence seized in the dwelling of M. de Châteauneuf precluded his public arraignment for treason. The King's sister, Henrietta Maria, was compromised, and Richelieu shrank from public ridicule, such as would have befallen him on the publication of the letters of Madame de Chevreuse and from the unsparing revelations likely to fall from the lips of the Duchess if put upon her trial by the side of Châteauneuf. Orders were despatched to remove the ex-Lord-Keeper to the citadel of Angoulême, where he was subjected to

severe incarceration and privations, for what the Cardinal called "*un mauvais procédé*," and totally debarred from communication with the world. Having thus avenged himself on his faithless friend, Richelieu proceeded next to exile the Duchess de Chevreuse, with all startling formalities. In the dead of the night, an officer of the royal guard, followed by a troop, entered the court-yard of the superb dwelling of the Duchess. An instant interview was demanded *de par le roi*. Madame de Chevreuse appeared and was presented with a *lettre de cachet*, which exiled her to Dampierre, where she was to remain under *surveillance*. Five hours only were allowed her to make preparation for departure from the capital.[30] Escorted by a guard of soldiers, Madame de Chevreuse reached her destination before the Queen heard of her exile.

The minor personages, meanwhile—those within the reach of the minister's vengeance—paid the penalty of their patron's misdemeanour. Arrests were made on all sides: a fear came over the people of Paris that another dire conspiracy had transpired. The Chevalier du Jars was arrested, thrown into the Bastille, tried before the infamous Judge Laffémas, popularly called *le bourreau du Cardinal*, tortured, condemned to decapitation for holding intelligence with Monsieur, and for treasonable collusion with the enemies of the realm. On the scaffold with his head on the block, the unfortunate man, waiting for the headsman's swift blow, was informed that the King's gracious

clemency had commuted his punishment into incarceration for life in the Bastille.[31] The Chevalier fainted away, and suffered ever afterwards from partial paralysis of the limbs. The brother of the Garde des Sceaux, the Marquis de Hauterive, escaped in disguise to the coast, put off from France in a fishing smack and was landed in Holland after undergoing extraordinary perils and privations. The Count de Leuville, the young son of Hauterive, was seized and conveyed to the Bastille by command of Richelieu; while every relative, however distant, of the ex-Keeper of the Seals was banished from the capital. The *dépit amoureux* of the Cardinal could scarcely avenge itself more rigorously, especially after Queen Anne received commands from the lips of her royal consort to cease all correspondence with the exiled Duchess on pain of incurring his signal displeasure.

Anne, deeming that she had been treated with very little deference in the matter, and that some communication was due to her dignity before her chief lady of honour was summarily deposed and exiled, listened to her husband's prohibition with that icy composure which Louis said, "was always a sure indication that the Queen intended to follow her own pleasure." It was now the Queen's habit, when in Paris, to retire during a part of every day to the Val-de-Grâce. In the oratory stood a box in which Anne placed any correspondence she wished to despatch secretly, and in which she found the letters sent to her

privately under cover to the abbess, or that had been boldly left for her at the gate. The *tourière* was the Queen's devoted servant, and received all letters, which she gave to the abbess, who at the same time confided to her any which had been written by the Queen and left at the convent to be despatched. Letters from the King of Spain, from the Empress Marguerite her sister, from the Infant Don Ferdinando, from Queen Henrietta Maria, from the Queen-mother, and from Monsieur, thus came to Anne privately and unknown to the King. At this period the energies of France were almost spent in maintaining the national honour. War was raging in Germany, and every political betrayal might cause events of momentous import; and French soldiers were meeting on the field of battle the combined hosts of Spain and the Empire. From the Val-de-Grâce Anne, therefore, communicated with the Duchess de Chevreuse, and for some weeks they interchanged a secret but active correspondence. Madame de Chevreuse, furious against the Cardinal, was ready to sacrifice anything for vengeance. Dampierre, the place of her exile, was then a dreary and half-furnished château.[32] M. de Chevreuse cherished a great distaste for the place, which, during the reign of Henri Quatre, had likewise been his prison, to avenge the audacity of his homage to the favourite, the Marquise de Verneuil. Richelieu had managed to infuse an additional sting in his punishment by sending the Duchess to her husband's castle of

Dampierre, from whom, when in the plenitude of her power and pride she had obtained a separation. Correspondence at length failed to satisfy the Queen and her friend; they determined to meet, in defiance of the minister and his mandates. One day, therefore, Marie disguised herself in the coarse garb of a peasant woman, and stealing from the castle on foot actually arrived at the Val de Grâce at vesper hour. Anne was in her oratory, and the two friends fell into each other's arms to weep and lament their persecution and to devise fresh snares to entrap their common enemy. "Madame de Chevreuse," writes Tallemant, "was exiled to Dampierre, from whence she came to visit the Queen, in the disguise of a dirty vagrant, at the hour we call *entre chien et loup*." This meeting occurred twice, according to the statement which, at a subsequent period, the Queen was compelled to make on oath. Other chroniclers, however, relate that the clandestine interviews between Anne and her friend were frequent and were, for an interval, enjoyed with impunity.

The audacious defiance of his command, nevertheless, at length came to the knowledge of the Cardinal, and was by him communicated to King Louis. A few hours later a coach, escorted by a company of musketeers, drove into the courtyard of the castle of Dampierre, and Madame de Chevreuse was directed to enter the vehicle. In vain Marie expostulated and petitioned for delay; she was compelled to submit, and on being shown

the instructions given to the commanding officer of the escort, even to congratulate herself on the leniency with which she was treated. The Constable de Luynes had bequeathed the domain and château de Milly to his widow. The castle was a few miles from Tours, and stood in the midst of a vast forest. Before the high altar of its chapel was the tomb of the late Constable. To this lonesome abode Richelieu now consigned the Duchess; one waiting-woman only was permitted to share her capitivity, her actions were subjected to strict surveillance, and all pecuniary expenses incurred by the inmates of the château were to be defrayed and regulated by the Duc de Chevreuse! In vain Marie, frantic with impotent rage, defied, and even threatened, her foe: so vigilantly was the *surveillance* maintained by the officer on guard that, for an interval, the restless *intrigante* was thoroughly caged.

King Louis XIII., during these events, gave the Cardinal no less cause for dissatisfaction. His Majesty's platonic friendship with De Hautefort prospered not: if the latter spoke to any cavalier of the court, if she smiled while Louis felt sad, if she yawned with irrepressible *ennui* during their evening's discourse, sombre suspicion enveloped the King's mind, and petulant repinings ensued. "This young lady," relates Tallemant, "wishing to marry and secure a position, suffered the King's attentions impatiently. She was very handsome; but during eight days the King agreed well with her, and during a subsequent eight days

he quarrelled with her." Louis vainly tried to detach Mademoiselle de Hautefort from her duty and affection for the Queen, whom Marie resolutely supported. He forbade her to accompany her mistress to the Carmelites or to the Val de Grâce; but as this injunction was never officially communicated, Marie chose to treat the King's wishes with disregard. She likewise showed herself impenetrable to the overtures of the Cardinal, and frequently spoke in derisive terms of his designs, while she dared to amuse his Majesty by the repetition of the scandals current in Paris respecting certain private incidents in the life of the great minister. A cabal in the household was therefore formed, under the auspices of Richelieu, to dethrone a personage so self-willed and disinterested, and to attempt to enlist the royal sympathies for Louise de la Fayette, another of her Majesty's maidens, who, in addition to a pretty face, was an accomplished singer. Accordingly, the Duc de St. Simon, the Bishop of Limoges, uncle of Mademoiselle de la Fayette, the Duke d'Halluyn,[33] Madame de Senécé, and Mesdemoiselles d'Aiches, de Vieux-Pont, and de Polignac, and M. Sanguin, *maître d'hôtel* to the King, and to whom Louis showed much friendly regard, united in lauding the perfections of la Fayette. St. Simon and the Cardinal feigned anger and vexation at the impertinent independence displayed by la Hautefort, and confidentially advised the King to punish her by appearing to transfer the honour of his notice to

la Fayette.[34] The King approved, and promised to follow the counsel of his friends. The same evening la Fayette was desired by the Cardinal to take her harp and to sing a song composed and set to music by his Majesty. The delight and astonishment of the King were extreme, the beautiful voice of la Fayette had never before charmed the court-circle during his dreary and decorous flirtation with la Hautefort. From that evening Louis devoted himself to la Fayette. The timid blushing girl, brimful of sentiment and reverence, proved to be a more congenial companion than the stately and imperturbable la Hautefort, who had condescended to listen to the royal plaints but who by no means deemed it requisite to sympathise therein. Louis Angelique Motier de la Fayette was the only daughter of Jean de la Fayette, Seigneur de Hautefeuille, and of Marguerite de Bourbon Busset,[35] who was descended from an illegitimate branch of Bourbon Montpensier. Her great grandmother, Suzanne de Bourbon Busset, Madame de Miossin, was the faithful friend of Queen Jeanne d'Albret, and the governess of Henri Quatre. In family influence, therefore, Mademoiselle de la Fayette surpassed Mademoiselle de Hautefort. Her uncle was the Bishop of Limoges, a prelate well known at the court. She was also cousin-german to the Marquise de Senécé, lady-in-waiting to the Queen; and second cousin of the famous Capuchin Joseph de Tremblay. The governess of the Queen's maids, Mademoiselle de Polignac, was also a near

relative. With such connections at court—persons placed, all of them, in influential positions—it has been a subject of wonder that the sagacity of Richelieu did not rather induce him to withdraw from the notice of his royal master a lady so powerfully supported. Mademoiselle de la Fayette is described as possessed of many personal attractions: she was a brunette with shining eyes, rather *embonpoint* in figure, without much dignity of carriage, shy and sedate in manner and speech, given to sentiment, poetry and meditation, and preferring a secluded life to courtly gaieties. She had also been destined from her early youth to a cloister; her father was poor and proud, and despairing of finding for his daughter an alliance suitable to her birth he had encouraged the longings of the pensive girl for seclusion. In her seventeenth year, Louise was presented to the Queen by Madame de Senécé, and enrolled amongst Anne's maids of honour. It is supposed that the determination of Louise sooner or later to embrace a religious life, inspired her with that indifference to censure and disregard of worldly interest which distinguished her career. Her regard for the King soon deepened into the purest and most enthusiastic attachment; she entered into Louis' fears and heart-quakings at the power of his minister, she soothed and encouraged him while maintaining inviolable silence on all that he confided to her ear, she interested herself as far as might be in his pastimes; and above all she sympathised in

his resentment against Anne of Austria, and to please the King confined herself to the merest routine of duty in her relations with her royal mistress. The interviews between Louis and la Fayette were generally holden in the little cabinet opening from the Queen's state reception-room; there the pair met to weep and confer. The utmost decorum prevailed during these meetings; not a wanton thought, it is said, ever troubled the serenity of the King or brought a blush to the fair cheek of his *confidente*. "*Le Roi Louis XIII.*," said the sarcastic Christina, Queen of Sweden, "*n'aime que l'espèce en femmes—il est entouré de dames d'une sagesse et continence reconnues!*" As for Louis, la Fayette was the idol before whom he offered heart-felt adoration: "*Angélique était sa joie et sa couronne!*" If a thought, however, arose that might sully her purity, the King, it is stated, summoned his confessor and expiated such unholy desire by penance. He seems to have devoutly believed that Providence had set the seal of election on the brow of Louise, and that eventually a cloister would shield her from his love and from the world's perils. Meantime it was his duty to respect and watch vigilantly that no alloy of illicit love might mar the merit of such a sacrifice. Notwithstanding the repute which Louis le Chaste had obtained, there were found persons who disbelieved in such self-denial, and urged the King to console himself for the indifference and misconduct of Anne of Austria by following the

example of his father. These counsels at length made impression on the King, and yielding to the temptation he one day abruptly proposed to Mademoiselle de la Fayette an establishment at Versailles and the rank of a duchess. With horror and misgiving la Fayette listened to the King's solicitation, and so edifying, it is recorded, were her admonitions that Louis consented to a temporary suspension of their daily interviews to expiate his error. "It was to la Fayette that the King confided his chagrins relative to the Cardinal de Richelieu," relates Madame de Motteville. "That girl had an upright heart, and though she was aware that this confidence would probably be fatal to her interests, she kept the King's secret, and confirmed him in his aversion to the minister; for she perceived that he was dishonoured by his compliance with the will of the Cardinal. The said Cardinal did all in his power to gain her over to his side, as he did to all persons possessing influence with the King; but la Fayette showed more courage than those courtiers who had the mean cowardice to carry to the Cardinal an exact account of what the King said to them. A woman showed a firmer and more noble spirit; but la Fayette had courage to defy the turns of fortune, by her resolution eventually to enter a cloister. The King, therefore, discovering that she was trustworthy, virtuous and beautiful, esteemed and loved her, and I know that he entertained thoughts of her far above the usual feelings of men. The same prudence which induced this generous

woman to refuse alliance with the Cardinal de Richelieu prompted her to live on tolerable terms with the Queen. An attachment so perfect could not fail to give contentment to the King and displeasure to the Queen, who, however, was now accustomed to the misfortune of not being beloved by the King her husband. La Fayette confessed her attachment to the King, and as they loved each as the other desired, their bliss ought to have insured the happiness of their lives." Richelieu, however, saw further into human nature than good prosing Madame de Motteville; he perceived that he had every evil to dread from the supremacy of la Fayette. The King, it was true, naïvely betrayed the impressions inspired by the observations of his mistress to his minister, avowing them to be such; but he maintained their propriety and justness with characteristic obstinacy. The moment, therefore, that la Fayette ceased to resist and to rebuke the inclinations of the King her ascendency would be omnipotent, and from Versailles she might dictate the edict of his dismissal from power. As yet Mademoiselle de la Fayette had abstained from interfering in political matters. "*La Fayette ne fait ni bien, ni mal,*" was the report hitherto given by Chavigny to the Cardinal de la Valette and others, of the doings in the palace. In vain Richelieu tried to neutralise La Fayette's favour by the same artifice which had succeeded for the downfall of Mademoiselle de Hautefort. Louis would not look at another of Anne's maidens, and listened in

gloomy silence to Richelieu's laudation of any one amongst the fair bevy. The sole avenue, therefore, likely to lead to the overthrow of Mademoiselle de la Fayette's influence was to foment the religious scruples of the pair, and to daunt the proud heart of Louise with imaginary dangers, even by inspiring her with a secret conviction that her life was in danger and therefore that a cloister was her only refuge. The system of spies, of warning intimations and the bribery by which the Cardinal inaugurated and maintained his power, rendered possible a conflict such as he now offered to la Fayette. The popular confessor to the ladies and courtiers of the Louvre was le Père Jean Baptiste Carré, Superior of the order of the Dominicans of France; an ecclesiastic devoted to Richelieu, whom he worshipped and obeyed with servile zeal. This personage, who was considered a light in his Order—being a man distinguished by learning, eloquence, ecclesiastical power and religious zeal—took yearly a solemn oath of obedience [36] to the Cardinal minister, whom he regarded as the incarnation of human power, wisdom and benevolence. Carré addressed to his patron long memorials on public affairs, written with consummate skill; he transmitted notes describing the condition of public feeling towards the minister at home and abroad, gathered from the reports of the foreign monks of his order; he placed all members of the Dominican community in France at the disposal of Richelieu, while his judicious counsels and

fervent zeal aided the minister in many a dark hour of uncertainty and doubt. This ecclesiastic, therefore, was confessor to the court, and by him much service might be achieved. The post of confessor to the King and Queen was a privilege bestowed by Henri Quatre on the Jesuits, and at this period, the commencement of the year 1636, was, fortunately for the designs of Richelieu, vacant by the dismissal of le P. Souffrant, who had followed the fortunes of Queen Marie.

Richelieu, by the advice of his own confessor, counselled Louis to confer that office upon Nicholas Caussin, a Jesuit father who had obtained high repute for probity and virtue, and who was the author of a book of religious meditations, called "La Cour Sainte," very much admired by pious persons. Intimation of his promotion was given to Caussin, who was desired by his Eminence to wait upon the King on the morning of the Feast of the Annunciation, as it was his Majesty's purpose to confess before receiving the Holy Eucharist; but previously he was instructed to visit the Cardinal at Ruel. This mandate was conveyed to the Jesuit monastery by a young page greatly favoured by the Cardinal, the young Marquis de Cinq-Mars, second son of the Marshal d'Effiat. Caussin repaired to Ruel on the 23rd of March, 1636, and was at once admitted to private audience with the minister. With *suave* indifference Richelieu greeted the reverend father, and after repeating the flattering intimation that the King contemplated bestowing upon him the

much coveted post of confessor in ordinary, provided that his Majesty received satisfaction from his ministrations on the morrow, proceeded to inform Caussin, "that the King was a noble prince without vice whatever, and that his virtue being a benediction to the realm, it was necessary to encourage such holy inclinations. It was true that, unfortunately, his Majesty had lately appeared much attached to one of the Queen's ladies, although he suspected nothing wrong; nevertheless, as a great affection between persons of opposite sexes was dangerous, it would be prudent to check such partialities."[37] The tone of the Cardinal was careless, but his manner significant. Caussin, therefore, departed initiated in the line of action expected from him, but by no means disposed to implicit submission. The following day, Caussin met his royal penitent, whose confession fully enlightened him on the nature of his *liaison* with Mademoiselle de la Fayette. The King declared himself "more than content" with his new spiritual director, and signed on the same day his letters of office. Caussin being, a few days subsequently at St. Germain—for the King's confessor had apartments assigned him in all the royal palaces—M. de Noyers, chief secretary of the war department, and Richelieu's confidential friend, paid him a visit at midnight, and said "that he had been directed by M. le Cardinal to apprise him that the young lady whom his Eminence had mentioned to the reverend father contemplated leaving the

court to embrace a religious life, and that M. le Cardinal desired he should examine her vocation and induce her as soon as possible to carry such design into execution." De Noyers enforced profound secrecy respecting his visit, but exhorted Caussin to carry out the views of his Eminence, whose patriotic and disinterested counsels conferred prosperity on the realm.[38] It was subsequently represented to Caussin that Queen Anne beheld the ascendency of la Fayette with extreme displeasure and disbelieved in the innocence of such *liaison* with her royal consort, and that the King of Spain, who was devoted to his sister, was not likely to be conciliated by the establishment of a *maîtresse en titre* at the Louvre. It was true that Anne did not show the same toleration towards la Fayette as she had manifested towards Mademoiselle de Hautefort, who still remained her confidential friend and often shared with her royal mistress the questionable vigils at the Val de Grâce. De Hautefort hated Richelieu, disapproved the conduct of the King towards his wife, and did all in her power to reconcile the one and to overthrow the other. La Fayette was the enemy of Richelieu only so far as such enmity pleased the King, who needed a *confidente* to whom he might exhale his jealousy and occasional exasperation against his minister. She sympathised with and admired the King, and felt no regard for Anne of Austria whose intrigues she declined to share. Her crime in Richelieu's eyes was her independence and her true regard for

Louis, which made him apprehend that one day the restraints interposed by virtue and piety might be cast aside for ever, and that France would adore in Louise Angélique de la Fayette a second Gabrielle d'Estrées. Caussin, the director of the royal conscience, was, meantime, disinclined to follow the dictation of Richelieu. His Order was jealous of the Dominican communities and of their Superior, Carré; and resented the fact that Richelieu had not chosen a Jesuit monk for his own confessor. The Jesuits, moreover, strongly protested against the foreign policy of France. The alliance between France, Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden, the deposed Elector Palatine and the German Protestant Princes, was abhorrent to their principles and hostile to their interests. They sympathised with the exiled Queen-mother and desired her recall, they approved of the marriage of M. d'Orléans and blamed the minister for his persecution of the heir-presumptive. The enmity displayed by Richelieu towards le P. Chanteloube, at one time confessor to Queen Marie de' Medici, who had taken refuge in Brussels to escape the Bastille, added another item to the list of grievances against the Cardinal. In Mademoiselle de la Fayette, therefore, Caussin and his Order descried the antidote to the heretical policy of France, and a source by which peace with Spain and the Empire might be achieved. The Queen's household was a very focus of intrigue, every person appertaining thereto adhered to one of the

factions of the Queen, the Cardinal or la Fayette. Mademoiselle de Polignac, governess of the maids, the Duc de St. Simon, Madame de la Flotte, *dame d'atours*, Mademoiselle de Chémerault, Mademoiselle de Filandre, head-dresser to her majesty, Sanguin, chief *maître d'hôtel* and others, were the hidden spies of Richelieu, who held in his pay even the very scullions of the royal kitchen.

The Queen herself was hostile to la Fayette, and desired her exile from court; though, since the marriage of Monsieur, a marked change had come over her Majesty, who seemed now to be less the opponent of Richelieu personally, but rather disaffected on account of his warlike designs upon her brother, Don Philip of Spain. Madame de Senécé and the Bishop of Limoges befriended la Fayette, and did all in their power to induce her to relinquish her monastic resolves and to accept the position of state and influence opening to her. The King was in the habit of sending his written communications to Mademoiselle de la Fayette by one Boiszenval, his first *valet de chambre*. This Boiszenval had been raised from the subordinate service of a *valet de garde robe* by the favour of Louise, who had obtained for him promotion, in the hope of securing one faithful attendant not seduced by the benefits of M. le Ministre. Richelieu, however, soon contrived to lure Boiszenval from his allegiance to a lady whom the Cardinal assured him was on the eve of withdrawing from the world, and whose favour could be but tem-

porarily exerted in his behalf. Partly intimidated by the half-uttered threat of the minister, and partly prompted by self-interested motives, Boiszenval sold himself to the Cardinal. Whenever, therefore, he was intrusted with a note by the King to carry to la Fayette, Boiszenval took it straight to Richelieu, who first perused and then, by the aid of his experts in imitating handwriting, caused the letters to be copied again, altering any profession or statement therein which displeased him.[39] The same method he pursued with regard to verbal messages interchanged between the lovers, which the Cardinal suppressed altogether or moulded to suit his purpose. For some little time this duplicity succeeded, until one day Boiszenval, with unparalleled insolence, said to Mademoiselle de la Fayette, on presenting her with a billet from the King, "If you are sincere, Madame, in your design to become a nun, do so without delay, this probation is too tantalising to his Majesty!" Such words naturally roused suspicion, and upon comparing notes the King and la Fayette discovered how they had been deceived.

A few days subsequently Louis suddenly addressed Boiszenval, who was performing his functions at the *lever* of his Majesty, when the royal chamber was crowded with courtiers. "Boiszenval," said the King, "I have discovered that you are a consummate traitor. I therefore dismiss you. Go! Never presume to present yourself in my presence again."[40] Boiszenval

retired, his patron the Cardinal dared not interfere, or perhaps deemed it more politic not to interpose when Louis was roused into so unusual an exercise of decision. Meantime Caussin took every opportunity to ingratiate himself with Mademoiselle de la Fayette, and one day when the Queen was leaving the chapel at St. Germain, she approached him timidly saying, "Reverend Father, I wish if possible to speak with you." Caussin excused himself from an immediate interview and fixed four o'clock in the afternoon for the conference. During the interval he saw the King and asked his Majesty's permission to confer with a lady of the household whose name he pretended not to know. "Ah!" said his Majesty, "it was la Fayette. She wishes to consult you on the design she has long entertained of going into a nunnery. Yes, I consent to the conference."

Caussin therefore held a long consultation with Mademoiselle de la Fayette in the presence of Mademoiselle de Polignac, who having been secretly bribed by Richelieu took notes of the conference which ensued. La Fayette then said that she was resolved to enter a nunnery, that God called her to that vocation, that she prayed the reverend father to dispose the mind of the King to permit her retreat, that she was miserable and had scruples on her *liaison* with the King, and was wearied with the envy and hate of malignant personages. Caussin thereupon represented the privations and hardships

of a nun, and asked the pertinent question "whether she had a true call and was not lured thereto by wordly chagrin and by the representations of interested personages?" La Fayette replied with tears, "that in her early youth a religious life had been her election, that she wished now to enter as a novice the Convent of La Visitation des Filles de Ste Marie, that she should quit the world without bitterness or regret, and that she requested the reverend father to broach the subject to the King, which was the object of the interview which she had requested."[41] Caussin therefore honestly performed the task imposed upon him. Louis heard him in gloomy despair. "Although," replied his Majesty, "I regret and deplore her decision yet I dare not hinder her vocation. Nevertheless, tell her to wait until my departure to join my army. Meantime consult Madame de Senécé on the subject—I leave all to her."

Madame de Senécé, when appealed to by Caussin, as the King doubtless anticipated, absolutely refused her assent to the project, and insisted that letters should be despatched to the father and mother of la Fayette, Monsieur and Madame de Hautefeuille, who alone she averred could grant the desired permission. The answer was many months in arriving, the jealous agonies of the Cardinal became intense, and he bitterly reproached Caussin for his lukewarm zeal. "I feared to render myself obnoxious and so to defeat my purpose by a show of too much zeal,"

answered the discreet Jesuit. Richelieu turned away with a wrathful gesture, and forthwith charged le Père Carré to examine and report on the condition of la Fayette's mind, and to insinuate himself if possible into her confidence.[42] The subterfuge failed: Louise made one confession to Carré and then refused to open her mind further to the stern Dominican, who if he failed in obtaining her confidence, at any rate served the Cardinal's purpose by maintaining through other ladies of the palace, his penitents, the most rigid *surveillance* over her conduct. The curious letters of Carré addressed to the Cardinal still exist in the French Foreign Office—every little incident, every insignificant remark, every vacillation of mind relating to the poor girl whom it was Richelieu's purpose to coerce were there recorded. Carré at the beginning of the year 1636 writes to his patron:[43] "I address your Eminence in much depression on account of the danger which besets the vocation of Mademoiselle de la Fayette. M. de Limoges, Madame de Senécé and M. le Chevalier de la Fayette, uncle of the said lady, came to call upon me this morning between the hours of nine and ten o'clock. All three attacked me furiously—M. de Limoges[44] by angry argument and abuse, Madame de Senécé by bitter reproaches and M. le Chevalier by atrocious insinuations—all because they said that I had plotted and negotiated the retreat of their niece into a convent. They asked me why I so acted, and why I had not consulted them? I replied that my

conscience forbade me to take counsel of persons interested, as they were, in the result; upon which they poured more abuse on my head, and gave me a formal interdiction, as they said, on behalf of the Queen not to meddle with the conscience of a lady of her household; and forbade me, on their own responsibility, to interfere with their niece. So behold me, Monseigneur, in despair at being quite powerless to forward the good work unless your Eminence assists me!" Carré goes on to relate that he had called upon the abbess of Ste Marie, who promised to receive the young postulant upon the responsibility of Carré alone. In the evening Carré accidentally exchanged a few words with la Fayette, and exhorted her to retire without further parley and to address letters of farewell from the convent to the King, to the Cardinal and to her own relatives; also, if she so desired, to the Queen. Mademoiselle de la Fayette then remarked, "that was unnecessary, as the Queen would rejoice at her retreat." The following month *la petite* was still at court, and threw fresh alarm into the mind of Richelieu's zealous agent—who was regarded as the most holy and devoted of men—by stopping the reverend father, whom she encountered in the apartment of Madame de la Flotte, to inform him "that her relatives and the King forbade her retreat, and threatened if she entered a convent to take her thence by edict of Parliament as being under age." "I replied," writes Carré, "that she need be under no apprehension, for

that your Eminence would protect her. I then asked her what her own wishes were? She replied in a labyrinth of words, 'that in a few years she might feel better assured of her vocation.' I said that two supreme reasons induced me earnestly to desire her immediate retreat, the first was the salvation of her soul, the second the welfare of Christendom by the conclusion of peace, which good work the reverend General of our order commanded me to forward, but that it was not probable that the King of Spain would consent to lay down arms while he knew that our holy and good King loved any other woman except his wife, sister of his Catholic Majesty, although he might be aware of the purity and innocency of such attachment. It was my opinion therefore that all conscientious persons should contribute toward so merciful an object." [45] Another day Carré writes to the Cardinal to inform him that Mademoiselle Thomassin [46] told him that la Fayette was suffering from agonies of indecision; that she feared the King's passion and shuddered at the thought of involving his Majesty in mortal sin; that she dreaded the resentment of the Cardinal, and even feared that some personal catastrophe would befall her—indeed every little vexatious incident was now interpreted by *la petite* as a sign of Divine wrath at her indecision;—"for instance this morning la Fayette came into my apartment," said Thomassin, "and said that God drew her towards a religious life by inflicting upon her countless

little mortifications; she then showed me a little pimple which had appeared on her right cheek during the night, 'a sign,' she said, 'that God is displeased at my delay.'" [47] Richelieu caused it to be intimated to la Fayette that she should become a benefactress to any convent she might select by presenting the community with 30,000 francs. Never was there a more zealous exponent than Carré of the minister's wishes: the more difficult the enterprise the more important did it appear to Richelieu to separate Louis from his mistress.

Caussin, meantime, prompted by the wishes of the King if not by his direct commands, did all in his power to induce la Fayette to delay the commencement of her noviciate. He represented to her in glowing language the hardships to which she was desirous to submit. Even when she had taken her final resolution to abandon the thorny path of intrigue and of a vain wrestling with the inexorable mind which rules France, Caussin's earnest counsel followed her: "What! will you quit the court, a King who esteems you, and brilliant prospects, to take the veil and bury yourself between four walls! There are only too many unhappy women who have thrown themselves into convents without due reflection, and will you Madame increase the number? You do not know what it is to relinquish your judgment, to abandon your will, and to live by and at the dictation of strangers who will not permit you to dispose of a pin without their sanction! You have been as a

bird of paradise at court, fed with amber and cinnamon, you have heard nothing but praise, compliments and adulation. Greatly amazed therefore will you feel when a heavy cross is laid on your shoulders and you are hurried up the steep path to Calvary. If you were an old woman desirous to give your last days to penitent repentance no one would feel surprise at your resolve, but for a young girl of seventeen years old, good and innocent, to fly from a King to entomb herself in a prison surpasses belief! The conversation of the King, has it ever offended you and evoked scruples? Are you not pure as when you first attracted his regard? You know his Majesty too well to feel apprehensive that he will ever ask from you anything which the law of God forbids you to grant. I advise you, therefore, stay with the King and do all the good you can through him, as God has been pleased to endow you with such power over his Majesty's mind." [48] Distracted thus by opposite counsels, Mademoiselle de la Fayette fell ill under the conflict; grave scruples of conscience tormented her, but though she pitied and admired Louis XIII. she had no confidence in his faithful support. She knew that the King could hide nothing from his minister, and that their most secret confidences he often disclosed, especially if she had in any respect assailed the policy or the character of Richelieu. It was a point of honour and habit with the King to repeat to Richelieu every inimical speech. La Fayette could never be sure that the King would

not denounce, and then retire with her to weep and bewail Richelieu's tyranny! "Louis XIII.," said le Père Caussin, "refrains from expressing all he feels, he does not all that he wills and wills not all that he can!" But with support so precarious la Fayette might well shrink from continuing to brave the hostility of the minister against which not one of the King's near kindred could prevail.

In the early part of May 1637, Mademoiselle de la Fayette, therefore, took her final resolve. One morning when the court was at St. Germain, she presented herself before the King and asked his permission to make an excursion to Paris to see the abbess of the Visitandines, of the Rue St. Antoine. Louis wept but consented, laying, however, strict commands that she should return to St. Germain by a given hour. Accompanied by Madame de Senécé, Mademoiselle de la Fayette had an interview with the abbess, who agreed to receive her as a novice at any moment. No further opposition was encountered from Madame de Senécé, who had been silenced by a threat conveyed to her by Carré,[49] "that if she sought again to dissuade Mademoiselle de la Fayette from the resolve which it had taken so long to render active her own exile from court would ensue." The evident displeasure and impatience of Queen Anne, moreover, had due weight with her lady of honour, and so la Fayette was sacrificed to expediency and to the will of the Cardinal. To the reluctant Caussin was entrusted the mission of

obtaining the final assent of King Louis. "It is true," said the King, "that she is very dear to me. God help me! but if a religious life is her vocation, let her depart! I consent." The same evening la Fayette appeared for the last time in the royal circle. Louis drew her apart and conversed for some time, everybody present remarking on the extreme pallor of the King. In the presence of the court she then thanked the King for his permission, which enabled her to "fulfil the dearest wish of her life." "Go, Madame," replied Louis, scarcely master of his emotion. "God calls you: it is not for man to oppose His will. My authority would have sufficed to assure your continued residence here for I could have forbidden every abbess in the realm to receive you! Nevertheless, I appreciate the excellency and privilege of so holy a life, and in my last hour God forbid that my conscience should be burdened with the thought that I had deprived you of so precious a vocation!" Louise then said farewell to her royal mistress—"*qui ne la pouvait aimer.*" Anne coldly smiled.[50] "The only bitterness of departure," exclaimed Louise afterwards, "is the joy and triumph of my enemies!" La Fayette then retired to the apartment of the Countess de Fleix, daughter of Madame de Senécé. A fit of hysterical weeping relieved her overstrained feelings, during which the coach of the King drew up under the archway of the quadrangle; for Louis, in bitter affliction, insisted on leaving St. Germain for a retirement of some days at Versailles.

"Alas, alas! I shall never see him again!" exclaimed Mademoiselle de la Fayette, as she watched the departure by torchlight of the *cortège*. At dawn Louise, attended by Madame de Senécé and by three of the Queen's maidens, departed for the Convent of the Visitation, Rue St. Antoine, and was received with great honour and parade by the abbess, who was a Séguier and niece of the new Lord-Keeper of the Seals and of the Bishop of Meaux.[51]

The King, meantime, on his arrival at Versailles, took to his bed and refused during two days to grant audiences. On the third day it was suggested by M. de St. Simon, "that his Majesty need not longer deprive himself of the pleasure of seeing Mademoiselle de la Fayette as all the convents opened their portals to the King of France." Louis rose eagerly and with his own hand wrote to the abbess of the Visitandines that he should visit the convent on the morrow to have an interview with Mademoiselle de la Fayette. On the arrival of his Majesty he encountered to his surprise M. de Noyers, the confidential friend of the minister. The King sharply inquired his business, and was informed that M. de Noyers had been commissioned to confer with the abbess on the payment of the dowry of the novice. Louis was then solaced by the sight of la Fayette, with whom he conversed for three hours in the convent *parloir* while his suite waited without the gate. "He was so moved by the description given him by la Fayette of the joys and peace of the monastic

state that his Majesty afterwards confessed to le Père Caussin, that but for his duty to his realm he would willingly follow her example." This interview was followed by many more during the next two months, before the departure of the King for his camp in Picardy. "*La cabale de Mademoiselle de la Fayette subsiste toujours!*" was the mournful comment of Chavigny to the Cardinal de la Valette, generalissimo of the army in Italy. From her retreat Louise dared to speak openly to the King on politics, and pathetically deplored "those great crimes," as she termed them, of his reign—the exile of the Queen-mother, and the alliance of France with the Protestants of Germany, against the orthodox and Catholic monarchs of Austria and Spain. She described Richelieu as a man, unscrupulous and relentless in his hatred, unmeasured in his ambition, and who, sooner or later, must, from motives of self-interest and the lust of power, separate his lot from that of the childless King and join the faction of the heir-presumptive. She made touching allusion to the fragility of the health of the King, which at any moment might fail; and she implored him to listen to the enlightened counsel of le Père Caussin, his spiritual director and a personage also of great political *savoir*. In the privacy of the confessional Louis was assailed by the same entreaties. The sombre and even menacing aspect of the King, meanwhile, greatly disturbed the Cardinal, he therefore summoned Caussin, and asked upon what the interviews

between the King and la Fayette turned, as every one was surprised to see a great King interest himself in the fate and caprices of an insignificant little girl. Caussin skilfully dissembled, but said that the King was disquieted by reports that his Eminence intended to cause Mademoiselle de la Fayette to be carried off secretly and immured in a dismal house—an offshoot of the Visitandines of Paris, situated in the wilds of Auvergne. "Ah, Monsieur," continued Caussin, "cease to trouble yourself about this *petite demoiselle*. What can you fear? Mademoiselle de la Fayette is only a child." "*Doucement, mon père*," retorted Richelieu, ironically; "you are simple, if not evil-minded, I perceive! Let me enlighten you and expose the malice of the world. Know that this child as you term her has been near overthrowing all.[52] Let her take the veil and occupy herself with her breviary. The King complains that she has entered a nunnery: it is her own fault. Have you not often told me that she complained of his Majesty's eccentric and unequal temper, and that the fear of sudden disgrace made her take the resolve to profess?" Richelieu then, according to the relation of Caussin himself, proposed a strict alliance, averring that all other confessors of the King had lived in confidential intercourse with him, and that if Caussin would support on all occasions his policy he might command any favour for himself, for his order, or for his kinsmen. The wily Jesuit made cautious reply to these overtures, but the cold indifference of

Caussin's manner convinced his Eminence that his sophistry had then failed to gain so important an ally as the director of the conscience of King Louis.

NOTES ON CHAPTER SIX

[1] "Le Cardinal lui fit dire par Madame de Fargis, dame d'atours, que si elle voulait, il la tireroit bientôt de la misère dans laquelle elle vivoit. La reine alors, qui ne croyoit point que ce fut lui qui la fit maltraiter, pensa d'abord que ce fut par compassion qu'il lui offrit son assistance, souffrit qu'il lui écrivit et lui fit même réponse ; car elle ne s'imaginoit point que ce commerce produisit autre chose qu'une simple galanterie.[3] —Tallemant.

[2] Journal de Richelieu. "L'ambassadeur m'a dit que j'y devois aller librement quand le roy y étoit, ou n'y étoit pas, luy dire un mot de ce qu'elle devoit faire, tantôt la divertir de ce qu'on jugeroit à propos ; que je luy ferois plaisir d'en user ainsi."

[3] Heir of La Rochefoucauld, and afterwards the celebrated duke of that name, author of "The Maxims."

[4] Monglat states that Mademoiselle de Hautefort exclaimed, "Prenez-la (la lettre) tant que vous voudrez à cette heure ! "—Cousin, Vie de Madame de Hautefort.

[5] "Le roi prit des pincettes d'argent qui étaient auprès du feu pour essayer s'il pouvait avoir ce billet avec les pincettes : mais elle l'avait mis trop avant, et ainsi la reine la laissa aller, après s'être bien divertie de la peur de Madame de Hautefort, et de celle du roi."—Vie de Madame de Hautefort.—Cousin, quoted from la Vie MS.

[6] Vie de Madame de Hautefort.—Cousin, quoted from la Vie MS.

[7] Mademoiselle de Hautefort was known at court by the *sobriquet* of "Sainte Hautefort."

[8] When the Queen Marie de' Medici heard of the return to Paris of Madame de Chevreuse, she exclaimed, "Hé bien, elle retourne après cinq ans de banissement ; et avoir été en divers lieux. Le Cardinal ne sauroit avoir pensé, n'y faire la moindre action que je ne sache à quoi elle tend."—Aubéry, Mém. pour l'Hist. du Card. de Richelieu, t. 2.

[9] La Grande Mademoiselle Anne Louise d'Orléans, daughter of Monsieur and of Marie, Duchess de Montpensier.—Mém., t. i.

[10] Marie de Vertus dite de Bretagne, daughter of Claude de Bretagne, Count de Vertus, and of Catherine Fouquet. She married, in 1628, Hercules de Rohan, Duke de Montbazon, father of the Duchess de Chevreuse. Marie was quite a child when she married the Duke, who took her from a convent, where she was destined to make profession. The Duke de Montbazon, therefore, always called her "*Ma religieuse.*" Madame de Montbazon was one of the most beautiful women of the

court, and one of the most *intrigante*, and masculine in mind. She died in 1657, aged 45.

[11] Anne de Rohan, wife of M. de Guémené, eldest son of the Duke de Montbazon, and brother of Madame de Chevreuse.

[12] "Où il y avait six poupées, une femme en couches, une nourrice, quasi au naturel, un enfant, une garde, une sage-femme, et la grand'-maman. Mesdemoiselles de Rambouillet et de Bouteville jouaient avec elle, déshabillaient et couchaient tous les jours ces poupées, etc."—Tallemant, Hist. du Card. de Richelieu.

[13] Marguerite de Lorraine Vaudemont, daughter of François, Count de Vaudemont, and of Françoise de Salms. Her father was the brother of Henri, Duc de Lorraine, and father of Duke Charles IV., Duke of Lorraine in right of his wife Nicole.

[14] Montmorency had asked for the sword of Constable, and for the government of the citadel of Montpellier, which were refused to his solicitations: "On n'avait garde de rendre le Duc plus puissant en Languedoc." The Duke had a trifling quarrel with the Duke de Chevreuse, which had incurred the resentment and bad offices of Madame de Chevreuse.—Vie du Duc de Montmorency—Galerie des Personnages Illustres. The Duke proposed to the States of the province to vote a supply for the King's service, which he intended to divert to the purposes of the revolt, as Montmorency himself allows in a letter to Monsieur: "On saisira les secours d'argent qu'ils doivent accorder au Roi pour le service de Monsieur."—Mém. du Duc de Montmorency: Paris, 1665.

[15] Brother of the first Duc d'Epernon, a prelate whose theological attainments were far inferior to his military acquirements. For details of the trial and execution of Montmorency, see Vie du Duc de Montmorency, Paris, 1665; Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis XIII., t. 4; Mém. de Bassompierre, de Pontis, Tallemant; Aubéry, Hist. du Cardinal de Richelieu; Père Griffet, Continuation de l'Histoire du Père Daniel; Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII.; Madame de Motteville, Mém., t. 1.

[16] Anquetil. Le Père Griffet, who states that Richelieu revealed the circumstance to the King, with the intention of increasing the wrath of his Majesty. "Le Duc de Montmorency," writes Madame Motteville, "étoit très assidu auprès d'Anne d'Autriche; il fit même le passionné, et il pourrait être arrivé qu'il se fut paré de son portrait par une galanterie espagnole, assez à la mode dans ce temps."

[17] Anquetil; Motteville; le P. Griffet; Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis XIII.

[18] "Bullion vint à bout de faire abandonner Montmorency par Monsieur, en lui persuadant qu'il falloit absolument une victime à la justice du Roi; et qu'on le laissoit le maître de sacrifier Puylaurents ou le Duc de Montmorency, et que c'étoit pour lui de voir s'il vouloit conserver le Duc, ou Puylaurents."

[19] Vie du Duc de Montmorency.

[20] Vie du Père Joseph Leclerc de Tremblay, Capucin, Instituteur de l'Ordre des Filles de Calvaire.

[21] The château of Dammartin was given to the Duchesse de Ventadour, half-sister of the unhappy Duke.

[22] Historiette de M. de Montmorency, t. 3 ; Tallemant des Réaux.

[23] Journal du Cardinal de Richelieu.

[24] Marie Catherine de la Rochefoucauld, Countess de Rendan, widow of Henri de Beauffremont Marquis de Senécé, governor of Auxonne, and ambassador at Madrid during three years of the regency.

[25] Cousin.—Mém. de M. le Cardinal de Richelieu contre M. de Châteauneuf.—Archives des Affaires Etrangères ; France, t. ci. ; douze pages de la main de Charpentier, un des secrétaires de Richelieu.

[26] Châteauneuf did not stand alone in this misdemeanour. The king, writing to his sister Queen Henrietta Maria, advises her to have the new-born Prince of Wales baptized privately by her Roman Catholic chaplain, which, if she consented to do, Louis XIII. promises to stand sponsor to the child. "Vous savez, ma sœur, que le seul moyen de vous donner contentement, que la reyne ma mère, et moi nous tenions sur les fonts de baptême le prince mon neveu, c'est qu'il soit baptisé à la catholique ; à quoi vous pouvez beaucoup contribuer, puisque cela se peut faire par votre aumônier dans votre oratoire, le roy mon frère pouvant alors dire que vous l'avez fait sans son sceu, et consentement."—Lettre de Louis XIII. à la Reyne d'Angleterre.—Aubéry, Hist. du Card. de Richelieu, t. 5, p. 375.

[27] Procès-Verbal de la Visite des Papiers de M. de Châteauneuf, faite par MM. Bouthillier et de Bullion ; copie communiquée par M. le Duc de Luynes ; Cousin, Vie de Madame de Chevreuse, p. 242.

[28] The names in the correspondence between Madame de Chevreuse and Châteauneuf were indicated by ciphers : 22 stood for Richelieu ; 24, the Queen ; 28, Madame de Chevreuse, who always alludes to herself in the third person.

[29] Cousin, Vie de Madame de Chevreuse. These letters are also quoted by le P. Griffet, Hist. du Règne de Louis XIII. ; Continuation de l'Hist. de France du Père Daniel.

[30] Cousin, Vie de Madame de Chevreuse ; Motteville, t. c.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Dampierre became subsequently one of the most magnificent seats in France. It was restored by the grandson of Madame de Chevreuse, son of her son by the Constable de Luynes, upon whom the peerage of her second husband was confirmed. The Duc de Chevreuse and de Luynes married the eldest daughter of the famous Colbert, who was a wealthy heiress. Madame de Chevreuse had three daughters by her second husband : Anne Marie de Lorraine, abbess of Pont-aux-Dame ; Henriette, abbess of Jouarre ; and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, celebrated for her beauty, and the admiration of the coadjutor De Retz.

[33] Charles de Schomberg, Duc d'Halluyn, Pair et Marèchal de France, Marquis d'Epinay, and Comte de Nanteuil. This nobleman eventually married Mademoiselle de Hautefort, September 24, 1646. The duke died 1656.

[34] Mém. de la Porte. Petitot, t. 59.

[35] Daughter of César de Bourbon, Count de Busset, and of Louise de Montmorillon. The branch of Bourbon Busset descended from the turbulent Louis, Archbishop of Liège, who died in 1482, son of Charles I., Duke of Bourbon, and of Agnes of Burgundy.

[36] The words of this oath were, "Ego Frater Joannes Baptista Carré, ordinis Prædicatorum, vestri Novitiatus Generalis Prioris, voveo et prometto obedientiam tibi, Domino Eminentissimo Armando Cardinali Duci de Richelieu, usque ad mortem."—Archives des Affaires Etrangères, France, t. 78 ; Cousin, Vie de Madame de Hautefort.

[37] Le Père Griffet, Hist. du Règne de Louis XIII., t. 3.

[38] Griffet, t. 3.

[39] Siri, Memorie Recondite, t. 4 ; L'Espion, Turc. t. 4 (written by one Paolo Marana) ; Dreux du Radier, t. 6 ; Vie de Mademoiselle de la Fayette.

[40] Siri, t. 8 ; Dreux du Radier, t. 6 ; Le Père Griffet, t. 3 ; Hist. de Louis XIII.

[41] Griffet, t. 3.

[42] Le Père Griffet, t. 3 ; Mém. de Motteville, t. 1.

[43] Cousin, Vie de Madame de Hautefort, Appendix sur Mademoiselle de la Fayette ; Archives des Affaires Etrangères, France, t. 78, fol. 63.

[44] "L'oncle espérait pour moins obtenir un chapeau par le moyen de la petite."

[45] Archives des Affaires Etrangères, France, t. 78, fol. 124.

[46] Mademoiselle Thomassin was a dresser in the service of Anne of Austria.

[47] Archives des Affaires Etrangères, France, t. 78, fol. 150, quoted from M. Cousin, Appendix, Vie de Madame de Hautefort.

[48] Mém. de Richelieu, t. x.

[49] Louis XIII. had no very elevated opinion of the capacity of the zealous Dominican. "Le bon Père Carré," said his Majesty one day, "est un de ces saints qu'on gagne aisément dès qu'on a bien doré une chapelle."

[50] Mém. de Motteville ; Griffet, Règne de Louis XIII. ; Dreux du Radier, t. 6.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Cousin, Vie de Madame de Hautefort, Bibl. Imp. Val. 73, 74, MS. "Le Cardinal m'a dit que quand le Roi eut été trois jours sans voir la Fayette il seroit guéri, que je ne pouvais ignorer ce que disoit St. Jérôme, qu'il falloit passer sur le corps de son père, pour courir à l'étendard de la croix. Je lui aurois pu dire," adds Caussin, "que le Saint-Esprit ne se prend pas à coups de canon ; mais je lui dis seulement que si j'eusse pressé davantage, j'aurois tout gâté."

CHAPTER VII

1637

ANNE OF AUSTRIA AND THE CARDINAL DE RICHELIEU

THE year 1637 opens an important and mysterious era in the married life of Anne of Austria. It is the period of her most flagrant treason against her husband's realm, of her reconciliation with the Cardinal de Richelieu, and of the hope which transported France, and which was realised during the following year by the birth of Louis Quatorze.

Europe during the year 1637 continued convulsed with warfare, every realm seemed shaken to its foundation. The invasion of Germany by Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden in the year 1630, in behalf of the Protestant Princes of Germany and to serve the cause of the dethroned Elector Palatine, had moved every nation. Spain, united to the Empire by close family ties and political sympathies, threw in her lot with the Emperor Ferdinand II. Soon the war had assumed the terrible aspect of a conflict waged between the Protestant Powers of Europe allied with France, against the orthodox and potent Empires of Spain and Austria. The invasion of the Swedes occurred during the first session of the Diet of Ratisbon, to which the envoys of France, the able diplomatist Brulart and the astute Capuchin father, Joseph

de Tremblay, had been sent by Richelieu to negotiate a peace between France, the Empire and the Dukes of Mantua and Savoy, or to oppose by every artifice the election of the Emperor's eldest son as King of the Romans. The desired pacification was obtained, Casale was to be surrendered. The Emperor moreover in his anxiety to secure the promise of the imperial dignity for his son, disbanded at the solicitation of a majority of the Electors a part of that vast army under his renowned general Albert de Wallenstein, Duke de Friedland, which held the rebellious princes in check and might have arrested the victorious advance from Pomerania of King Gustavus Adolphus.[1] The Swedish armies laid siege to Stettin, which was soon taken at the point of the sword and the town given up to pillage : the members of the Diet thereupon retired in dismay from Ratisbon without proceeding to the much-coveted election.

France meanwhile had been at war with the Emperor and the King of Spain since the year 1626 concerning the succession to the Duchy of Mantua. The old policy of Henri Quatre therefore presented itself with double zest to Louis XIII. and his minister : alliance with the Protestant Powers of Europe to bring about the humiliation of the overgrown power of Spain, to wrest the Empire from the Hapsburgs, Archdukes of Austria, by causing the election of a King of the Romans from among the princes of another dynasty, to moderate the pretensions of the Papacy, to confer the power of supreme nomina-

tion to ecclesiastical benefices on the rulers of the various countries of Europe, and to abolish the faculty of appeal to Rome in disputed cases concerning temporalities. The Great Henry projected this political revolution while holding the Calvinists of the realm in strict subjection. Richelieu ventured a step further: he crushed "*les religionnaires*," drove with a strong hand their allies from the coast of France, resumed possession of their cities of refuge, annulled the charters of La Rochelle and other powerful cities, and whilst the Calvinists cowered before the *prestige* of the crown, the able minister, to exalt the power of France abroad, joined their foreign allies to effect in other countries the reforms which he had so sternly repressed at home. In 1628 the Valteline was rescued from papal domination and restored to liberty; and in 1631, two years after La Rochelle fell at the feet of Richelieu, the alliance between the Protestant crown of Sweden with the Catholic realm of France was concluded, for the overthrow of the Imperial House and the reform of the Germanic Confederation. The treaty between France and Sweden was signed January 1631 at the camp of Berwalt in Brandenburg; the plenipotentiaries who ratified this astonishing alliance were M. de Charnecé on behalf of France, and Horn, Maréchal de Camp of the Swedish forces, and Bannier, their famed general of infantry.[2] The articles stipulated an alliance offensive and defensive between the two crowns; that the King of France should furnish annually for the service of

the war an annual subsidy of one million of livres ;[3] that the invading army should always be maintained at a complement of thirty thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry. Finally, that the Roman Catholic religion should be respected, and that no wilful spoliation of cathedrals, monasteries and church treasures should be permitted. England joined the allies, Denmark wished well to the forces of the gallant realm, her neighbour, and thus was inaugurated that contest known under the familiar designation of the Thirty Years' War. France fought well and bravely in the contest, the success of the Scandinavian monarch was unparalleled, victory followed his banners; in vain Tilly, Wallenstein, Montecuculi and the Emperor himself sought to arrest his progress. Complete religious and political freedom seemed about to dawn on Germany ; in the space of two years Gustavus Adolphus gained thirty battles and took two hundred towns, no limit therefore could be prescribed to the prowess of a conqueror so mighty. Richelieu thereupon began to reflect ; the war approached the Alsatian frontier, and possibly the Swedish hero might long to test his veteran soldiers against the world-renowned chivalry of France. When Germany lay prostrate, Richelieu argued—might not the Imperial banner be again raised from the dust by the hero, and Gustavus Adolphus, become the ally of the Emperor Ferdinand, lead his legions over the frontier and dictate the pacification of Europe from Paris ? Long did Richelieu and his two

confidants, the Capuchin and Dominican fathers, Joseph de Tremblay and Carré, ponder over a glory that eclipsed the exploits of the minister in Piedmont and Montferrat, and which reduced the much-lauded conflict of the Pass of Susa into an ignoble skirmish when compared to the mighty victories of Gustavus. The jealousy of the Cardinal did not long ferment; on the 6th day of November 1632, the gallant King fell on the plains of Lutzen in the very arms of victory. Gustavus received two mortal wounds from the hand, it was rumoured, of an assassin, who himself died from the pistol of an officer mysteriously at hand to avenge the assassination. Later the body of this personage was likewise found extended on the battle-field mutilated by sabre wounds.[4] France then rallied from her panic: in the preceding month Montmorency had suffered the penalty of treason; the rebel league with Spain, cemented by the boyish resentment of Monsieur, was dissolved on the field of Castelnaudari. Monsieur, penitent, as has been before related so long as the rod was suspended over his head, soon regretted his concessions and fled again from the realm. The flight of Orleans gave Richelieu opportunity for completing the annexation of the duchy of Lorraine. Nancy was invested and garrisoned by French troops; the Duke, after a hasty abdication in favour of the Cardinal his brother, fled to Besançon and joined a division of the Imperial army under Montecuculi. On the plains of Lombardy the French

armies encountered the Spanish forces with varying success, and but few notable achievements gave lustre or renown to the contest. The King's generals were Marshal de Crequi and the Cardinal de la Valette, the brother of the famous Duke d'Epernon, who was renowned rather for his military capacity than known as a prince of the Church and Cardinal Archbishop of Toulouse. The Duke of Saxe Weimar, after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, commanded the French contingent in Germany, and the war continued to rage with varied success, Bannier, the most renowned of the Swedish generals, having the command in chief of the forces. In 1633 Heidelberg was taken by the Swedes, and in September of the same year a Spanish army under the Duke de Feria entered Germany and joined the Imperial forces—Feria having first escorted the new governor of the Low Countries, the Cardinal Infant Don Ferdinand,[5] to Brussels.

In this year the Archduchess Infanta Isabel [6] died without posterity, and according to the terms of the will of her father Philip II. King of Spain the sovereignty of the Low Countries reverted to the Spanish crown. Ferdinand had great influence with his sister Queen Anne of Austria, and was her frequent correspondent, and after his arrival in Brussels most of Anne's private correspondence with Spain passed through his hands. Queen Marie meantime, on the decease of the Infanta, quitted Brussels and retired to Spa, paying a visit *en route* to the Prince and Princess

of Orange at Bolduc. Monsieur however remained the guest of the Archduke Ferdinand, fretting at the life of inaction and self-denial which his exile entailed, tenaciously resenting fancied affronts to his high dignity, at variance with the Queen-mother and becoming weary of the society of his estimable but inert consort, whose beauty had now lost its influence over his capricious heart. Meantime the great battle of Nordlingen, gained by the armies of Spain and the Empire over the forces of France and her allies, September 6, 1634, seemed to awaken again the patriotism of the Duke—or perhaps gave him opportunity for the step which he had long meditated, his return to France, an event earnestly desired by Richelieu, who felt the necessity of making concessions to a prince who might any day hear himself saluted as King of France. The Duke, as the price of this concession had asked for the recognition of his marriage with Marguerite de Lorraine. Louis offered to submit again the question of the legality of this marriage to the highest civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the realm, and in case their decision was adverse to indemnify the Princess, to create her a duchess and not to compel Monsieur to marry again against his inclination. The Duke accepted this proposition, being nevertheless firmly resolved to maintain the validity of his union with Madame, which he regarded as a master-stroke of defiance to the will of Richelieu. Monsieur also asked for the payment of his debts. Louis generously presented

his brother with the sum of 400,000 livres for that purpose. Moreover it was stipulated that all the Duke's revenues should be restored, with the donation of a further sum of 160,000 crowns for his immediate equipment. The government of Auvergne was also to be conferred on Monsieur to indemnify him for the loss of that over the Orléanois which had been forfeited after the late rebellion.[7]

Content, as he well might be, with these munificent stipulations, Monsieur, without taking leave of his wife, fled from Brussels on the 12th of September and repaired to St. Germain, where the brothers interchanged a fraternal embrace, Gaston taking Heaven to witness that he would be a true and faithful subject and a sincere and cordial ally of M. le Cardinal. The following day his Eminence regaled the returned prodigal by a sumptuous banquet at Ruel, of which the Duchess d'Aiguillon was queen. From Anne of Austria Monsieur met with a cool reception. His marriage and his subsequent persistence in his union with Marguerite de Lorraine dissipated any influence which he had exercised over the mind and conduct of the Queen. In Monsieur Anne now beheld the married heir-presumptive, ready on the demise of his brother and King to seize her crown and transfer it to his own consort. More than ever Anne deplored her childless condition, and lamented that in spite of her prayers, offerings and vows after twenty-two years of wedlock the blessing appeared farther than ever from attain-

ment. The alienation between Anne and her husband had become more confirmed if less visibly demonstrated. Louis, refreshed by the deferential homage of Mademoiselle de la Fayette, or de Hautefort, cared not for another companion. Anne, with her fair beauty, her consciousness of her charms, her petulant and derisive wit, her determined self-will and her Spanish inclinations, had become hateful and sometimes even terrible to the King. Alone in his solitary chamber Louis loved to be at peace, to avoid the trouble and fatigue of kingly rule and to abandon himself to melancholy musings and to the alleviation of his frequent and painful maladies. The excitement of a camp, of a review, of a military progress, alone had power to dissipate his Majesty's constitutional languor.

The military events of the year 1635 were adverse for France; notwithstanding incredible efforts on the part of the government, reverses met the allies everywhere. The French had three armies on foot in Germany; one of 12,000 men under Marshal de Feuquières and the Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar; the second *corps de bataille* under Cardinal de la Valette was destined to march for the rescue of the Palatinate, Heidelberg having again fallen; the third army under Marshal de la Force kept guard on the frontiers of Alsace. In Italy Louis had an army of 12,000 men and 2000 horse under the Marshal de Crequi; in the Valteline the French soldiers numbered 1200 men and 800 horse; in Provence and

Languedoc and in Lorraine large bodies of troops were quartered. With such forces in the pay of France, in addition to heavy subsidies to the allies of the crown, well might King Louis exclaim in a despatch to the Marshals de Chatillon and de Brezé, " Judge, Messieurs, therefore, whether it is possible for me—I having to support alone the cost of such great armies—to raise other reinforcements for my allies. Such armies as mine ought to draw to me all the forces of the said allies ! " [8] The most energetic measures nevertheless were necessary, Richelieu beheld with horror the progress of the Imperialists and the slender chance which existed that the Duke of Saxe Weimar would be able to defend the frontiers from invasion. Spain threatened Provence and Languedoc, the Imperial armies were marching into Champagne and Picardy, the Duke of Lorraine prepared to attack his confiscated duchy, all the resources of Spain and the Empire seemed united to invade France and thus deprive the great Protestant League of her chief ally. In the midst of this suspense the fortress of Philipsburg was taken. Utter panic thereupon prevailed throughout the kingdom as treasures and abundant military stores fell into the hands of the enemy. The Marshals de la Force and the Duke d'Angoulême were sent into Lorraine to intercept the advance of the Imperial general, Gallas,[9] on the cities of Toul, Metz and Verdun, while the King himself marched to the frontiers of the duchy. Crequi meanwhile entered the Milanese and laid siege to

Valenza. A victory soon after gained by the Duke of Lorraine over the troops under La Force, and the news of the capture of the city of Trèves by the Spanish commander-in-chief of the forces in the Low Countries, completed the national despondency. The gallantry of the Cardinal Infant governor of the Low Countries, and brother of Queen Anne, eminently contributed to the success of the war. The French received another repulse in Italy, where Crequi with his allies the Dukes of Savoy and Parma was compelled to raise the siege of Valenza and retreat before the victorious arms of the Marquis de Alada and Don Carlos Coloma. This disastrous year terminated by the assemblage of a second Diet in Ratisbon by the victorious Emperor, and by the triumphant election of his son as King of the Romans, who had married the sister of the consort of Louis XIII.

France, menaced by invasion from every quarter of her territory, concluded alliance offensive and defensive, February 1635, with the States of Holland against Spain and had thus directly challenged that potent monarchy. The treaty was elaborate and calculated to exasperate King Philip and his minister Olivarez. Louis actually therein divided the Netherlands with his Dutch allies; the share of territory to fall to France in case of victory being Luxembourg, the counties of Artois, Namur, Hainault, Flanders and the Cambresis! The answer of Spain to this challenge was the inroad of a formidable army, early in the year 1636, under Prince Thomas of Savoy, Piccolomini

and Jean de Wert, on the province of Picardy. La Capelle Châtelet and the town of Corbie were captured, and the road to Paris opened for the advance of the enemy on the capital. The consternation was so great at court and in the city that the Cardinal dared not show himself, for there was no insult which the populace would not have been ready to shower upon him when the news of the fall of Corbie arrived. Richelieu himself was so depressed in mind and body at the gigantic war which enveloped France that if Père Joseph, to whom he confided his trouble, had not encouraged and counselled him he was on the point of retiring from the administration of affairs.[10] Chavigny, Richelieu's confidential friend, describes the panic which followed the advance of the Spanish armies; "but," says he, "the King has gone for change of air to Madrid,[11] and Monsigneur to Chaillot, they both now understand each other and are in perfect health."[12] The Count de Soissons meantime was sent into Picardy as commander-in-chief, where Louis himself followed and took up his quarters in the city of Amiens. The Duke de Montbazon repaired to Soissons, Brezé to La Fère, the Count d'Alais to Abbeville, Béthune to La Peronne and Rambures to Dourlens—all being eager to defend their country from invasion; while the Duke de Longueville, at the head of 6000 men, kept guard over the frontier of Normandy.

The Queen, during these momentous events, resided at St. Germain and took eager interest in

the affairs of the war. Notwithstanding the renewed prohibition of the King, Anne persisted in her clandestine correspondence with her brothers, Don Philip IV., and Ferdinand, governor of the Low Countries. Her indignation had been imprudently expressed at the treaty concluded by Louis XIII. with the States-General of Holland against Spain, while her Majesty could scarcely conceal her joy at the triumph of her countrymen and at the visible dismay and depression of the minister. While France mourned in consternation, Anne and her favourite ladies exulted, and la Fayette was tauntingly advised by the Queen to counsel King Louis to make timely peace whilst he was able with Spain. The treacherous half-surrender of La Capelle by the governor, M. du Bec, and the unexpected advance of the Spanish army upon Roye, had excited the suspicion of Richelieu. Letters intended for the Cardinal Infant were captured; the mysterious and suspicious allusions in which, on the condition of the frontier fortresses, inspired him with alarm and indignation. The facts which unaccountably transpired relative to the military resources of the realm proceeded evidently from some personage highly placed and in the daily habit of hearing important discussions relative to the war. Richelieu, nevertheless, dared not at this period reveal his convictions; his own position was precarious, his enemies many, and the disastrous result of the campaign of 1635-6 had placed sharp weapons in the hands of persons who plotted his overthrow.

The people generally, pronounced that the alliance of Catholic France and Protestant Germany was unhallowed and likely to be visited with condign judgment. So anxious was Richelieu to propitiate Louis and to conciliate public opinion, that by the advice of his wily adviser, the Capuchin Joseph, he presented to the King "his Hôtel de Richelieu (afterwards Palais-Royal) with all its dependencies; also his superb and magnificent vessels for the altar of gold and diamonds, his state buffet and its trophies of silver plate valued at three thousand golden marks, his celebrated heart-shaped diamond weighing twenty carats: the whole unconditionally, but reserving to himself the enjoyment of the above during his lifetime."[13] "Monseigneur, by this graceful act you will diminish the dislike felt towards your Eminence by the populace, you will convince the public that you use wisely and liberally the favours and honours given you by the King, and that at your death your only wish is to restore your riches to your benefactor, instead of bequeathing such to your relatives. By this generosity you will acquire immortal renown, and your most bitter enemy must be converted into an eulogist of your disinterestedness." So argued Père Joseph; and Chavigny, therefore, on the 9th of June, 1636, carried the donation signed by his Eminence to the King, who was pleased to accept the gift. The fortune of the great minister soon emerged from the cloud of adversity, to the consternation of his adversaries. In November 1636 Corbie was

recaptured and its garrison of 1600 Spaniards compelled to capitulate, and Gallas was repulsed and compelled to retreat from the duchy of Burgundy before the gallant deeds of Condé. Successes also attended the French arms in Lorraine, so that the end of the year 1636 again found the policy of Richelieu in the ascendant, and the minister established and greeted by his sovereign as "*Celui qu'il aimoit le plus, avec M. le Cardinal de la Valette, en France.*"

Monsieur, meantime, had shared the campaign in Picardy with his cousin, M. de Soissons, the Princes having been declared by the King commanders of the besieging army. No sooner had Corbie capitulated and the court rejoiced at so glorious an issue of the campaign, when Monsieur again fled from Versailles to Blois, while M. de Soissons in disguise reached the rebel haven, Bouillon's fortress of Sédan. The courtiers were confounded; Chavigny, in his amusing letters, which relieve the dry details of military proceedings, finds no word to express his amazement at such an escapade. "The King," says Chavigny, "sent for Monsieur after the surrender of Corbie, to consult with him on the dispersion of the army and the towns in which large garrisons should winter, after which his Majesty said to his brother that it was now time that he should enjoy himself a little in Paris. Monsieur, however, insisted upon departing into Champagne, to which his Majesty declined to assent as there was no military work in the province requiring his High-

ness's presence. I do not know whether this denial offended Monsieur; it is certain, however, that he has again fled from court, which is a thing that fills us with despair, for it appears as if the same work and negotiations have to begin over and over again!"[14] The true reason of the flight of the Duke and of the Count de Soissons, was their dread of Richelieu's vengeance after his detection of a plot concocted between them to assassinate the minister on one of his visits to the royal abode—a castle in the vicinity of Amiens. The design failed owing to the faint-heartedness of the Duke, who assuredly then held his enemy in his toils, as Richelieu, separated from his own attendants, was conversing with Monsieur, around whom stood the four gentlemen who, on a signal, were to give the fatal blow. Monsieur, assailed with a remorseful panic, suddenly ran up some steps leading to the King's apartment, leaving Richelieu surrounded by his intended assassins, who, perceiving the Duke's perturbation, dared not strike. Richelieu, with admirable *sang-froid*, comprehending how matters stood, bowed, and calmly entered his coach which was in waiting. The Cardinal then caused the rumour to be circulated that the King had resolved on the arrest of M. d'Orléans and of M. de Soissons on their return to Paris. The flight of the Princes ensued, and neither of them quitted their retreat until fresh calamities convulsed the realm. Monsieur, nevertheless, obtained from his brother the long-sought recognition of his marriage with Marguerite de

Lorraine—" provided that Monsieur espoused not, with the Princess, the pretensions and resentment of Duke Charles of Lorraine, her brother."[15]

The year 1637 opened with the capture of Landrécy and the siege of La Capelle ; important military events, which, united to the victories of the Duke of Weimar in Alsace, restored the military *prestige* of France. The desire, therefore, to conclude an honourable peace with Spain, and to put an end to the warfare in Italy, was now earnestly entertained by Richelieu. To effect this boon without compromising his sovereign, the Cardinal opened a private correspondence with the powerful minister and favourite of Philip IV., the Count-duke de Olivarez. In this patriotic and laudable design, Richelieu found himself foiled by the intrigues of Anne of Austria, who counselled her brother to enforce a solution of the political events leading to the war at the sword's point rather than by the pen of the diplomatist. Richelieu confided his suspicions to Père Joseph, and asked his invaluable assistance to unravel the intrigue. The doubts of Richelieu were first excited during the month of April of the year 1637 ; during the following months of June and July the minister acquired more positive knowledge on the subject of the Queen's frequent correspondence with the enemy. He had resolved to send a secret agent to Spain to test the popular feeling of the country in regard to the war with France and the private dispositions of the Spanish ministers. For this purpose, by the

advice of Père Joseph, a monk of the order of Récollets, one Jérôme Bachelier was selected—partly for his skill in *chicane*, but more especially as he was slightly acquainted with Olivarez, with whom Bachelier had conferred when sent to Spain some years previously on a mission connected with his order. Some ostensible errand, however, it was needful to provide, in order to procure for Bachelier an audience of the Count-duke. Richelieu therefore suggested to Anne of Austria, that as God had not yet granted her prayer for offspring, and as she had already caused prayers to be put up at every shrine in France, it might be advisable to solicit her brother, King Philip, to send her a fragment of some renowned saint of Spain, whose intercession might procure for her the unspeakable blessing of becoming the happy mother of a Dauphin. Anne assented, and wrote to the King her brother, to send her the arm of the holy and blessed St. Isidore of Seville, to be enshrined in her chapel of Val de Grâce, that she might daily kneel in supplication before this precious relic of the Oracle of Spain. Probably on this occasion Richelieu addressed to the Queen the following extraordinary epistle, which affords in itself no clue to the period when it was written : "It is impossible for me to express to your Majesty the affliction with which I am inspired, in finding, from the letter with which I have been honoured, that God still withholds from your marriage the benediction which we had all trusted to obtain from His goodness, I assure your

Majesty that the King grieves as much for the affection which he bears you as for his own sake, and for the welfare of this realm. Nevertheless I pray you to take comfort. What God withholds at one time He bestows at another, and the Almighty, having hitherto testified a peculiar care for France, will in His own good time crown the blessings he has showered upon us by giving the one boon alone capable of consummating our felicity. I pray earnestly that so it may be: deign to believe, Madame, that no one desires this blessing more fervently than myself." [16] The Queen, however, far from being penetrated with Richelieu's devotion for her welfare, while soliciting through Bachelier the arm of St. Isidore, wrote by *ses voies secrètes* to her brother the King, to be on his guard against the intrigues of the monk sent with her petition, as his true mission was secret and political. Bachelier, accordingly, on his arrival at Madrid found every ministerial door closed against him and audience of the Count-duke refused unless he first made a statement of his errand. Compelled to submit, Bachelier had then the mortification to find his request referred to the Archbishops of Toledo and Seville, who had received his Catholic Majesty's commands to comply with the pious petition of his sister, the very Christian Queen. Foiled in his design and confirmed in his distrust of the Queen by Bachelier's report, " that the intimation of the true object of his mission proceeded from a high authority in France," [17] Richelieu commenced in good earnest

investigations which he resolved should issue in the repudiation of Anne of Austria, or in her perfect submission to his decrees, of whatever nature he thought proper to propose. His first step was to place spies about Madame de Chevreuse, who was considered by his Eminence as the mischievous instigator and upholder of Anne's misdemeanours; his second, by the aid of Father Joseph and the Archbishop of Paris, to introduce a young Capuchin monk as confessor to some of the sisterhood of Val de Grâce—trusting by this device to gain insight into her Majesty's proceedings when at the convent, from whence all her private correspondence was despatched. It was discovered by this means that a person in disguise was in the habit of leaving letters for the Queen at the convent, which were delivered to the abbess, who now placed them in a recess in the wall by the side of the altar in the Queen's oratory. Anne always proceeded to the convent to peruse her letters and to indite her answers, which she placed in the same hiding-place. A few hours after the Queen's visit the same messenger appeared at the convent-grate, to whom the letters were given by the abbess herself. This messenger was soon traced by Richelieu's secret police; he was discovered to be la Porte, the Queen's faithful servant, who had before suffered in her cause. He was followed to the hôtel of the English embassy where he was heard to inquire for one M. Auger, and from the same embassy he was one morning pursued to the convent where he was seen to leave a letter at the grate of the *parloir*.[18]

Madame de Chevreuse, meantime, had experienced some alleviation in the rigour of her captivity at Milly. She had been suffered to leave that dismal château and take an hôtel in Tours, where her proceedings with the old Archbishop of Tours afforded great scandal to his pious flock.[19] The prelate was so fascinated with the beauty and wit of the Duchess that he became a martyr to her caprice, and showed perfect indifference to the decorum appertaining to his high position.

Richelieu therefore, sent an exempt of his police down to Tours to watch the manœuvres of his old enemy, and discovered that missives were often mysteriously despatched by Marc de la Porte, brother of the Queen's servant, and valet in the service of the Duchess, who also was in the habit of receiving packets from his brother in Paris; the copy of a letter, moreover, alleged to have been written by Madame de Chevreuse to the Duke de Lorraine, was transmitted by an anonymous hand to the Cardinal de Richelieu. In this letter the duchess taunted her old admirer with his languid zeal against the despoiler of his duchy —the tyrant Richelieu—whom, with the same perverted taste which characterised her intercepted correspondence with Châteauneuf, Madame de Chevreuse vilified in opprobrious terms. Richelieu now thought it time to humble the haughty Princess who had dared to defy his power, reject his amity and to ridicule his admiration. The gravity of the Queen's offence

merited arrest for high treason. From Louis XIII. Anne had little indulgence to expect; prepossessed with the idea that she had sanctioned, and even devised, the conspiracy for which Chalais suffered, the King was ready to believe any infamy which might be alleged against his imprudent consort.

On the last day of July 1637, Richelieu assembled the council of state at the Louvre, previous to the departure of the King for Chantilly, whither Louis was going to spend the month of August, in high dudgeon that the remonstrance of his minister had prevented him from superintending in person the siege-works before La Capelle. After giving certain explanations relative to the progress of the campaign in Picardy, Richelieu suddenly rose and denounced the secret intelligences between Anne of Austria, the King of Spain, and the Cardinal Infant governor of the Low Countries. "Sire, we have arrived at that period of national calamity when the treasonable relations of a queen of France with the enemy must be arrested. Her Majesty, I have reason to believe, has made important political disclosures, the proofs of which exist in the convent of the Val de Grâce." Richelieu then accused the Queen of illicit correspondence with Madame de Chevreuse, with Mirabel, late Ambassador of Spain at the court of France, with the Spanish ministers in London and Brussels, with the Queen Marie de' Medici, and with the Queen of England, whom she had perniciously exhorted to make innova-

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Cardinal Richelieu

tions in religion highly displeasing to Charles I., under the delusive hope that Spain would interpose to put down seditious risings in Britain.[20] The sensation excited by the Cardinal's discourse was acute enough to satisfy his anticipations; the council clamoured that investigations should be instituted into an affair which so nearly concerned the national honour and the military renown of France! The King, informed beforehand of Anne's misdemeanours, listened in sullen wrath, and empowered his ministers to make all preparatory arrests and examinations for the elucidation of the business.

"There is already sufficient evidence for the arrest and arraignment of the Queen on a charge of high treason," exclaimed the Chancellor Séguier. "Such a process, however, would shake the prestige of the monarch and degrade the royal dignity. I put to you, therefore, Sire, whether it will not be better to avoid so cruel an extremity and to exact instead from the Queen Infanta a plenary confession, and to compel the acceptance of pledges which hereafter shall suffice to prevent future correspondence?"[21]

The moderate advice of Séguier met with applause and with protestations from the Cardinal minister "that his fealty to the state surpassed only his reverence for her Majesty." The Chancellor was then commanded by the King to make the necessary perquisition into the affair "without favour or dread"; and a mandate was addressed by Louis to the Archbishop of Paris,

directing and requiring him to grant every facility for the investigation requisite in the nunnery of Val de Grâce which was under his jurisdiction. Lastly, a *lettre de cachet* was signed by the King decreeing the arrest and transfer of Pierre la Porte to the fortress of the Bastille.[22]

The Queen, meantime, unconscious of the gulf yawning at her feet, had been present a few days previously at the profession of Louise Angélique de la Fayette in the nunnery of the Visitandines. Louis, overwhelmed with grief at this separation, had exhausted his powers of persuasion to induce la Fayette to reconsider her resolve. He accused the Cardinal of using menace to hasten this determination, and one day Louis suddenly returned from Fontainebleau to Paris, after the reception of a letter from Louise in which she expressed some apprehension of the Cardinal's violence. "If M. le Cardinal causes Mademoiselle de la Fayette to be abducted and carried into Auvergne, as he once threatened, I swear that I will fetch her thence in the very teeth of the Lord Cardinal and of all the devils in his train!"[23] "Sire," exclaimed la Fayette, "cease to urge me. I have vowed allegiance to a higher Potentate than yourself. Let me become His faithful subject."[24] The sermon on the profession of la Fayette was preached by Caussin, who was moved to tears as he contemplated the fair young girl about to be sacrificed to a court intrigue. The Queen threw the black veil over the head of la Fayette, who wept without ceasing throughout the ceremony.

At the conclusion of the service Anne retired to the abbess's parlour and sent for Caussin. Her Majesty then, after a touching allusion to the scene which they had just witnessed, said that her conscience obliged her to remark to the reverend father that she deemed it to be his bounden duty to represent to the King that his people groaned under the burden of taxes and subsidies to defray the expenses of a war excited and maintained by the ambition of the Cardinal; that the aim of the Cardinal was so to daze the mind of the King that his services could not be dispensed with; that his ambition and treachery maintained a perpetual feud between the King and his nearest and dearest connections and some of his most faithful nobles, most of whom would serve the realm with greater ability than M. le Cardinal. In reply to this somewhat officious address, Caussin assured her Majesty of his zeal and loyalty, but said "that he had made a rule never to interfere in politics, but in other matters he would faithfully acquit himself as his conscience might dictate." [25]

On the 3rd of August Louis departed for Chantilly. On the following day Anne also left Paris, not having the slightest suspicion of the peril awaiting her. Anne was followed to her coach by Mademoiselle de Hautefort and other ladies who took leave of her Majesty for the period of her absence at Chantilly. La Porte was amongst the Queen's attendants; before leaving the Louvre Anne beckoned to this individual and gave him

two letters—one folded and addressed, the other in a blank envelope and unsealed. Her Majesty said, "Carry this letter to the post; as for this one, I will tell you what you must do with it!" Anne was proceeding to give la Porte the necessary instructions when a nobleman of the court approached, to whom she was compelled to speak; the Queen then hurriedly entered her coach with Madame de Senécé and drove out of the court-yard. "The Queen," says la Porte, "made me understand by a sign that both these letters were for Madame de Chevreuse; she omitted, however, to tell me what she desired me to do with the letter enclosed without an address in a sheet of paper, but I concluded that her Majesty might send me word the same evening. Afterwards I took the determination, as I did not hear, to send them both by a special messenger whom I trusted and knew." [26] The Queen had no sooner quitted the precincts of the Louvre than la Porte was arrested and conveyed to the Bastille by Goulart, ensign of les Mousquetaires du Roi. On his person were found the letters given to him by Anne, one of which was openly addressed to the Duchess de Chevreuse, a mere letter of gossip, and was to have been forwarded by the royal mails; the other letter was written partly in a cipher of numerals, and made allusion to some recent intercourse of letters between the Duchess and the Duke of Lorraine. The Queen, moreover, therein refused to sanction, "as too perilous," a project proposed by Madame de Chevreuse, to visit the

Louvre in disguise that she might confer on important matters with her Majesty. The letters were both in the handwriting of the Queen, and on the envelope of the unsealed letter was the sign $, which La Porte afterwards avowed was the hieroglyphic by which Anne indicated the letters that were to be sent to the Duchess by "*les voies secrèts.*" A third letter was also found in the pocket of La Porte from Madame de Chevreuse, which however, contained nothing particular except a request that La Porte would remind the Countess de Lude to ask the Queen to interest herself in the prompt settlement of a law-suit then pending between the Duchess and M. de Chevreuse.

The news of the arrest of La Porte came accidentally to the ears of Mademoiselle de Hautefort, who was spending the interval of the Queen's absence from Paris at the house of her grandmother, Madame de la Flotte Hauterive. A certain M. de Guigencourt happened to be loitering in the vicinity of the Louvre and saw the arrest made. Being slightly acquainted with La Porte he followed the soldiers and their prisoner as far as the gates of the Bastille. La Porte was known to be a confidential servant of the Queen, Guigencourt therefore hastened to Mademoiselle de Hautefort to impart to her the event he had witnessed. The magnitude of the catastrophe was too well comprehended by La Hautefort, who, devoted to Anne of Austria, cleverly partook in all her secrets without becoming involved in their

disastrous course. She instantly saw the expediency of warning the Queen without loss of time; but as her letter might be intercepted or be delayed by etiquette from immediate presentation, Mademoiselle de Hautefort enclosed it to Mademoiselle de Chémerault, her intimate friend, who was then in waiting at Chantilly, adjuring her to lose no time in presenting the enclosure to her royal mistress. Mademoiselle de Chémerault was not a favourite with the Queen, who thought her *bavarde* and *coquette;* she had not therefore the privilege of early *entrée* to the bed-chamber. To attract Anne's attention was therefore her only chance of obeying the urgent mandate of La Hautefort. On presenting herself at the Queen's toilette, Mademoiselle de Chémerault arrayed herself splendidly, putting the note in her bosom. The Queen, attracted by the unusual sight of a *grande toilette* before she had commenced her own, looked displeased, and commenced in a bantering tone to rebuke La Chémerault for her folly. A sign, however, soon caught her eye, Anne being ever on the alert for the *dénouement* of her intrigues. The Queen, therefore, still pretending to rally the vanity of La Chémerault, approached, and the latter, while making profound obeisance, contrived to retreat, until a large mirror screened the Queen from the watchful eyes of Madame de Senécé and others. In an instant the important missive was transferred from the bosom of La Chémerault to that of the Queen. Anne returned, and with heightened colour seated herself before

her toilette-table. Soon, however, under some slight pretext, she rose and retired alone into the cabinet fitted up for her oratory, when opening the note she possessed herself of its alarming contents.[27] "The Queen," says the author of the Vie de Madame de Hautefort, "fell back almost senseless with alarm when she had perused the letter. Such a surprising sickness and indifference subsequently overpowered her Majesty that for forty hours not a morsel of food passed her lips, she who had usually so good an appetite." Mademoiselle de Hautefort informed the Queen that she had not imparted the subject of her letter to Mademoiselle de Chémerault, and that she would obey in all matters her directions. The Queen presently sent cordial thanks to Mademoiselle de Hautefort by La Chémerault for the important service which she had rendered her, and begged the continuance of her assistance in this extremity.[28] "The unhappy Princess having no mercy to expect from her consort or from a minister who on more than one occasion had threatened her with exile and divorce, believing herself lost, abandoned herself at first without regard to appearance or to prudence to the anguish and despair which possessed her." "Lost, lost!" she was overheard to murmur, "the Cardinal will marry his niece to the King and she will bear children never mind how!" alluding to Madame d'Aiguillon, whom Anne detested for her sanctimonious manners and for her undeviating allegiance to her uncle. On the 7th of August

Richelieu arrived at Chantilly. Anne, who does not appear to have made any appeal meantime to the King, immediately sent her secretary, M. Le Gras, to wait upon Richelieu, to inquire on her behalf, "what had happened to cause the arrest of La Porte? as she assured his Eminence that she had availed herself of the services of the said La Porte to send friendly letters to Madame de Chevreuse only, and protested on her honour that she had never sent a line into Flanders nor into Spain, by the aid of the said La Porte or by that of any other person or medium whatever." [29]

Richelieu, who, owing to the services of Séguier and other persons who readily came forward with their evidence now that an accusation was made, knew as well as the Queen herself the extent of her misdemeanours, made no reply to a statement so at variance with the truth. The silence of the minister increased the anguish and suspense of the Queen. "Silence," she observed, "was more cruel in this extremity than the most bitter reproaches." Anne knew not the extent of her peril; she was ignorant of the quarter from whence the blow proceeded, whether discovery of her secret correspondences in France had only been made, or whether her danger proceeded from letters and reports forwarded by the Ambassadors at Madrid and Brussels. La Porte, however, knew enough, as she was aware, to authorise her arrest, and she had reason to doubt whether his fidelity and fortitude would stand the terrible ordeal of the torture-chamber of the Bastille. In

her agony Anne knew not to whom to turn for counsel; she desired to see Mademoiselle de Hautefort, and she even expressed a wish to confer with the Duchess d'Aiguillon—but no person was permitted access to her presence. By some one of the numerous expedients in which Anne was an adept, she contrived to communicate by letter with the Duc de la Rochefoucauld and with M. de Puisieux, an ex-secretary of state whom Richelieu had exiled, to implore their counsel. M. de la Rochefoucauld relates in his Memoirs that the Queen proposed to him, in order to save her from perpetual imprisonment for life in the fortress of Hâvre, which she felt certain was a doom impending over her, that he should carry her off from Chantilly and convey her to the protection of her brother at Brussels.[30] Meantime, her devoted friend, Marie de Hautefort, was moving heaven and earth to devise a method of communicating with La Porte, to satisfy the Queen's anxious solicitude to secure his silence, and to inform him of the peril of his royal mistress which might be consummated by a single imprudent admission. "Consternation is imprinted on the face of the Queen," writes Grotius, the Swedish Ambassador, to the Chancellor Oxenstiern, "and her health visibly suffers.[31] The rare visits which she now receives from the ladies of the court announce some serious complication; perhaps, at the suggestion of officious ecclesiastics, the Queen, it may be proved, has been guilty of some crime, hoping to benefit the Roman Catholic

faith which is deemed endangered by the alliance of France with so-called heretics."

Several letters addressed to Anne of Austria had fallen into the Cardinal's hands during the brief interval after La Porte's arrest and his own arrival at Chantilly. He had also ascertained that within the last eight months La Porte had conveyed five little packets of writing to Auger at the English embassy, sent by the Queen ; and that letters had frequently, sometimes thrice a week, been taken therefrom and delivered by La Porte himself into the Queen's hands. La Hautefort, about the 12th of August, nine days after the arrest of La Porte, sent word to the Queen through Mademoiselle Chémerault whom Anne found herself compelled to trust, that it was reported in Paris " that La Porte, under the influence of torture, had made important confessions ; and as it would be highly expedient to gain some intelligences within the Bastille, she had obtained a list of the personages confined in the fortress, which she had sent for her Majesty's inspection." Anne replied, " that she was too afflicted and troubled in her mind ; that she could think of nothing but her griefs ; and that as she felt unequal to any mental exertion, she confided implicitly in the affection and ability of Madame de Hautefort." [32]

On the Feast of the Assumption Anne attended mass and received the Holy Eucharist in the chapel at Chantilly. Driven frantic by her terror and suspense, as it must charitably be supposed, Anne, while she knelt before the altar, sent for

Le Gras, her secretary, and for Caussin, the King's confessor; and with the Sacred Elements on her lips, she laid her hand on the altar and took oath that she had never held treasonable correspondence with any foreign potentate; adding "that she required and charged them both to repair to the presence of King Louis and report what they had seen and heard." [33] This terrible act of perjury invalidates for ever any statement put forth by Anne of Austria, and gives probability to all subsequent charges preferred by her enemies, showing that there was no act, however flagrant, from which the Queen shrank in order to deliver herself from peril and disgrace. "*La reine est fausse; elle est perfide et ingrate,*" was a plaint which often escaped Louis XIII. with more justice, perhaps, than many have been inclined to believe, and explains the neglect in which Louis suffered his consort to exist, though she wore the crown-matrimonial of France, and was the eldest sister of the most puissant monarch in Christendom.

The extreme perturbation of Anne's mind is not accounted for by subsequent revelations, much as they damaged her character as a wife and a Queen; it seems therefore almost certain that the omnipotent minister, having made his terms with the Queen, suffered enough to transpire to justify in the sight of the King and his subjects the commotion he had made, while suppressing evidence which must have rendered her crime unpardonable in the opinion of King Louis and the nation.

On the 16th day of August, Le Gras, with much

circumlocution informed the Queen "that more was known by M. le Cardinal than she suspected; that a warrant was out for the arrest of the abbess of Le Val de Grâce, and for her transfer as a prisoner to the castle of Bussière; that Madame de Chevreuse was to be conveyed to the fortress of Loches; while La Porte had suffered one severe interrogatory in the Bastille before MM. de Laffémas and La Poterie." The Queen after an interval of reflection and with all the appearance of desperate resolution, sent Le Gras to request that the Cardinal de Richelieu would visit her early on the morrow, as she had revelations to make. Aware of what must be the result of the search about to be instituted in her apartments at the Val de Grace, Anne dreaded the wrath and fury of Louis XIII. rather than the indignation of Richelieu, over whom she had already witnessed the power of her charms. The exultation of the Cardinal was doubtless great; the Queen had been brought to seek his assistance and one link in the chain of her subjugation had been wrought. On the morrow, therefore, August 17th, 1637, Richelieu, after first seeking an audience of the King to ask his permission to hold interview with her Majesty, entered Anne's presence. His Eminence was attended by the two secretaries of state, Chavigny and de Noyers, by his own private secretary and by two gentlemen of his household. Anne was sitting under her canopy of state, looking ill, depressed, her eyes swollen with weeping. Hearing that the Queen was unattended by any

of her women, the Cardinal caused Madame de Senécé to be summoned, who took her place behind the Queen's fauteuil. Anne languidly extended her hand to Richelieu, who, kneeling, pressed it to his lips. A few compliments were interchanged; the Queen then said in a hurried voice "that she had sent for M. le Cardinal to avow to him that she had written to M. le Cardinal of Spain, her brother; and that her letter had been despatched *par des voies secrèts* to Brussels; the letter, nevertheless, contained expressions only of sisterly regard, with inquiries after the health of his Royal Highness, with other demands of like innocent import." [34] When the Queen ceased Richelieu sternly replied, "Madame, to my certain knowledge other subjects have been discussed in your said letters. If you desire my interposition it is necessary that you should make frank confession, as I have assurance from the King your august consort that he will pardon the said deviations of which he has cognisance; in proof of which I have assembled the personages present to witness my declaration. If you have nothing more to confide to my ear I will repair to his Majesty and take his royal commands on the steps which his duty to his realm may require." Menace lurked in the bland words of his Eminence, "the King promised oblivion for those misdemeanours of which he was cognisant." What revelations lay hidden in the caskets of the Val de Grâce or in the breast of the prisoner La Porte? And what did the threat signify, "that Richelieu would take the

royal commands on the measures necessary for the welfare of the realm" ? With a shuddering sob Anne then requested Madame de Senécé, the secretaries of state and others, to retire and leave her alone with Monsieur le Cardinal.

The Queen then confessed *all* to Richelieu, showing, according to his statement, marvellous confusion at the deed of perjury which she had committed on the Feast of the Assumption.

Anne admitted : 1st. That the letters seized on the person of M. Senelle, and addressed to her by Madame de Fargis during the years 1631–1632, were genuine and not forged missives, as she had at the time pertinaciously insisted. 2ndly. That she had written to the Cardinal Infant, to Mirabel, to Gerbier, the English resident at Brussels, and had received frequent replies from these personages. 3rdly. That her letters were written in her private closet, then given to La Porte, who transferred them to M. Auger, secretary to the English ambassage, who forwarded them to Brussels. 4thly. That in these letters she had testified discontent at her position, and that she had written to Mirabel letters, and received in return answers, which would be very displeasing to the King her lord. 5thly. That she had given notice of the journey into Spain of the monk Bachelier, and had warned them to open their eyes and detect the private designs for which he had been sent. 6thly. That she had disclosed to the Marquis de Mirabel that a reconciliation with M. de Lorraine was talked about in France, and had warned

them (the Spaniards) to be on their guard. 7thly. That she had demonstrated much annoyance when she heard it spoken of as probable that the English were about to reconcile themselves with France instead of persevering in their alliance with Spain. 8thly. That the letter found upon La Porte was to have been conveyed to Madame de Chevreuse by the Sieur de la Thibaudière, and that in the said letter she mentioned the project of a secret visit which the duchess contemplated paying to her. "Whilst her Majesty was making this confession, her condescension was such," writes Richelieu, "that she several times exclaimed, '*Quelle bonté faut-il que vous ayez, M. le Cardinal!*' and protesting that she should feel everlasting obligation towards the person who would extricate her from her dilemma, she did me the honour to say, 'Give me your hand, M. le Cardinal!' and presented her own as the pledge of the fidelity with which she intended to adhere to her promises. However, out of respect, I withdrew further from her Majesty while she made the said protestations." [35]

Such was the substance of the confession made by the Queen and suffered to transpire by Richelieu; it was first reserved for the ear of the King alone but eventually got wind at court. No one believed that the whole truth had been disclosed; and what was mere conjecture in France took the form of positive assertion abroad, in those countries especially whose secret archives might have betrayed the facts. What passed besides at this

interview of two hours between Richelieu and Anne of Austria and on what terms his forbearance and protection were purchased can never now be disclosed. That Richelieu informed the Queen that on the following day the convent of Val de Grâce was to be searched and its abbess arrested appears more than probable by the strange fact which took all the ministers by surprise excepting Richelieu, and also the most ardent of Anne's adherents, that not a single document of any description—not even a scrap of writing of later date than the year 1630—was discovered in her Majesty's apartments or in any other chamber of the convent. The deposit of her papers in her convent stronghold was a fact constantly admitted by the Queen to her intimates. All her private correspondence was addressed from thence, and in the subsequent examinations it was admitted—when the confession could do no harm by the proofs being destroyed—that all the Queen's recent private letters had been there received, read and the answers thereto despatched from the nunnery; also that the ciphers for her foreign correspondence were, until recently, left in a coffer standing in her oratory. The fact might have excited less surprise if it had been remembered that the abbess, Louise de Milly, was a cousin of the famous Capuchin Joseph, Richelieu's second self—his constant guest and private counsellor. A hint to Le P. Joseph, after Richelieu's interview with Anne of Austria, might authorise the Capuchin to communicate with the

abbess, so that during the night of the 18th of August she might have committed to the flames all documents that compromised her royal mistress; or what is most probable, she may by command of the Queen have delivered the papers to the Capuchin. This supposition would corroborate the subsequent evidence of a poor nun of the convent, that one night she had seen the abbess convey with her own hands to the chapel two coffers adorned with the initials of her Majesty. Anne afterwards explained, on the demand of the Chancellor, that these coffers contained only a reliquary and a few jewels. So strange did the non-appearance of these papers appear that all kinds of suppositions were invented to account for their disappearance. The author of the Vie du Père Joseph asserts that the Queen was supposed to have received friendly warning from the Chancellor Séguier, and had contrived by some method to withdraw her most dangerous papers from the convent, which she desired the abbess to deliver to Madame de Sourdis.[36] This statement is most improbable; in the first place the name of Madame de Sourdis never occurs in the history of the Queen's private life at this period, secondly the police of the Cardinal de Richelieu was too vigilant to permit of the surreptitious withdrawal of important papers from a nunnery under its especial *surveillance*. Besides, the Queen evidently knew not of the intended search at the Val de Grâce until after her interview with the Cardinal. So carefully was the secret of this visit preserved

that the Archbishop of Paris, who accompanied Séguier to the convent, knew nothing of the measures to be pursued until he found himself *vis-à-vis* to the Chancellor in his coach and on his way thither. Séguier, in the *procès verbal* of his visit, addressed to Richelieu, plainly states his opinion that some friend of the Queen had been beforehand and had effectually removed all traces of her guilt. "It is our unanimous opinion," writes Séguier, "that some one has here given important notice of events—not that the Archbishop is implicated, because Monseigneur was not himself cognisant of any such intended visit—but we think it is probable that the Queen, suspecting some inquiry might be made, has so directed the reverend Mother that no important papers should be found." This is not the language of a person who had been himself the author of the important notice of events, which he deprecates as having partially defeated the ends of justice.[37]

To return to the interview between Richelieu and Queen Anne at Chantilly—when the Cardinal took leave Anne remained alone, apparently convulsed with sorrow. His Eminence then sought the presence of the King, who waited with extreme impatience to hear the result of the interview. Louis pursued the affair with extraordinary ardour; he insisted upon perusing every deposition made, the reports of the Chancellor and other officers of the Crown were submitted to his inspection, and it was evident that his Majesty expected and probably wished to obtain revelations

of the last importance. The Cardinal repeated the admissions made by Anne, but remarked that the Queen's fault, though doubtless grave, was, he trusted, not unpardonable. He ventured therefore to ask the royal clemency on her behalf. Louis sullenly demanded to peruse the confession in the Queen's own handwriting before he accorded any grace whatever. Le Gras [38] was then summoned and sent to the Queen with this humiliating order. Very bitter must have been Anne's tears while she accomplished this unwelcome and degrading task. The document laid before the King, and amended by the pen of Richelieu, whom Anne consulted, is as follows :

" Upon the assurance given us by our very dear and beloved cousin, the Cardinal Duc de Richelieu, who on our prayer came to confer with us, that the King, our very revered lord and spouse, had commanded him to inform us that like as he had aforetimes forgiven deeds committed by us displeasing and disagreeable to his Majesty—especially in the affair of and concerning La Dame de Fargis during the years 1631, 1632—he was disposed again to grant us the same grace, on condition that we confess and declare frankly and truly all the secret intelligences which we have holden unknown to his Majesty both within and without the kingdom, the persons whom we have employed, and the chief events which we have imparted, or those which in a like manner have been transmitted to us :

"We Anne, by the grace of God, Queen of France and Navarre, avow and admit that we have written several times to M. le Cardinal Infant our brother, to the Marquis de Mirabel, to Gerbier, the English resident in Flanders, and that we have frequently received letters from the said personages.

"That these letters were written in our closet, La Porte our *porte-manteau* in ordinary, being only in our confidence; we gave our letters to the said La Porte, who carried them to Auger, secretary of the English embassy, who forwarded them for us to Gerbier.

"That amongst other subjects, we sometimes testified our discontent and resentment at our domestic position, and we acknowledge to have written and received letters from the Marquis de Mirabel, conceived in terms likely to be greatly offensive to the King.

"We acknowledge to have given notice of the journey into Spain of a monk of the order of Minimes, and we advised that a strict watch should be kept over his actions.

"We also warned the Marquis de Mirabel that the reconciliation of the Duke of Lorraine with the King was spoken of, and that he had better provide in time against such a vexatious event.

"We moreover own to having testified and expressed great annoyance when it was supposed that the English were about to be reconciled with France instead of remaining the allies of Spain.

"That the letter taken from La Porte was to

have been delivered to a certain Sieur de la Thibaudière, and that the letter made mention of a journey projected by Madame de Chevreuse who wished to pay us a clandestine visit.

"We freely and candidly confess to all the above-mentioned facts and voluntarily declare them to be true. We promise never more to be guilty of like faults, and we engage to live with the King, our very honoured lord and husband, as beseems a person who holds no other interest but the welfare of his royal person and realm. In witness of which we sign this present with our own hand and cause it to be countersigned by our private counsellor and secretary and keeper of our privy seal.

"Done at Chantilly, this 17th day of August, 1637.

(Signed) "ANNE.
"LE GRAS." [39]

This document Anne's secretary conveyed to Richelieu, who presented it to King Louis, assuring his Majesty that he believed the Queen had candidly confessed the truth, as La Porte had undergone already two rigid interrogatories and had revealed nothing. He therefore advised him to grant the Queen pardon for the misdeeds of which she had made written confession. Louis consented, which fact demonstrates the extraordinary influence exercised over the King's mind by his minister—as he was induced so to do without waiting for the report of the search at the Val

de Grâce, or for the result of the examination of the abbess, Louise de Milly. That the King considered his pardon as a mere form, perhaps due to the dignity of the Queen-consort, is evident, as after this document was signed Louis commanded the investigation into Anne's conduct and her correspondence to be pursued with increased rigour. The additional revelations which came to the King's knowledge were severely punished by him without regard to this absolution, and there is little doubt that if the various *procès verbaux* had not been toned down or suppressed by the Cardinal, and the Queen's letters in the Val de Grâce totally abstracted, that Louis would have proceeded with rigour to punish Anne's infidelity. The form of the King's letter of pardon ran thus :

"After having perused the frank confession which the Queen our dear spouse has made of all that has lately displeased us in her conduct, and on the assurance which she gives us that she will for the future conduct herself as her duty to us and to our realm commands—we declare, that we pardon and obliterate from our mind the said past events and promise in accordance to live with her as a good king and husband should do. In witness of which we sign the present, and cause it to be countersigned by one of our privy counsellors and secretaries of state. Done at Chantilly, this 17th day of August, 1637.

(Signed) "Louis.

"Bouthillier." [40]

Louis, accompanied by the Cardinal, then proceeded to the Queen's apartment. Anne rose and threw herself at the King's feet, craving his pardon. Louis coldly laid before her Majesty her confession, with his pardon appended thereto, saying: "All this, Madame, that you have here confessed would not, as you are aware, be pardoned in Spain; nevertheless I am willing to forgive all that you have so far avowed. It is my pleasure, however, that for the future you show to Madame de Senécé and cause her to peruse any future letters you send abroad!" "Sire," replied the Queen, "I never can extinguish the love which I bear towards my brothers, nevertheless, for the future I will learn so to demonstrate my affection as to commit no infidelity or transgression against your realm!" [41]

Séguier, meantime, accompanied by the Archbishop of Paris, by the two secretaries of state, Chavigny and De Noyers and by the M. de la Potherye, suddenly appeared before the gates of the Val de Grâce and demanded admission *de par le Roy*. A guard of soldiers surrounded the convent, and archers penetrated even into the interior of the house. Séguier assembled the community in the refectory, where the Archbishop opened the proceedings by pronouncing a solemn excommunication against the abbess or any member of the sisterhood who should equivocate, conceal or suppress the truth relative to the grievous scandal which had caused the visit of M. le Chancelier. The abbess was then arrested and

conveyed a prisoner to her cell by seven soldiers of the guard. The prioress likewise suffered the same indignity, but was ordered by Séguier to point out the chests, coffers and closets where papers were stored, and to attend him during his search. The nuns remained in the refectory, at the door of which soldiers were stationed. Séguier first demanded to be led to the Queen's apartments. A rigid examination then took place—every closet, desk, drawer and chest was rifled. In a small recess to the right of the altar a number of letters were seized, but they proved to be papers of no consequence in the present inquiry, but were epistles received in the year 1630 by her Majesty, chiefly from Madame de Chevreuse. A small leather coffer was found locked, which upon being eagerly opened contained only gloves *de peau d'Angleterre*, with a little friendly note from Queen Henrietta Maria. In the coffer within which so many discoveries were expected, and where the Queen's clandestine correspondence was placed by the abbess, nothing was found but scourges and "disciplines" of various degrees of severity. The chapel, the oratory and the private cell of the abbess were next searched, but nothing was discovered. The abbess was then led into the awful presence of Séguier to suffer the ordeal of a first interrogatory, and to hear the reading of the decree of her banishment and probable deposition from her abbatial dignity. The narrative is thus vividly given by Séguier himself in a despatch to his chief, Richelieu:

"The nuns of the Val de Grâce appeared to be in great consternation at the orders which they received. The mother abbess seemed amazed. We judged, nevertheless, that some one had given them notice of our intended visitation—not of the visit of the Archbishop, as Monseigneur was not himself cognisant of such a visit—but it is our opinion that the Queen, suspecting something, warned the abbess, who took care that we should find no papers. The letters which we brought away are all written in the year 1630. Nothing here shows that the Queen has since corresponded. Nothing can have been abstracted since we took possession of the convent; a guard was placed over the Queen's apartments whilst we examined the cell of the abbess. The said superior wished to appear indisposed, she said that she was feverish and ill. The doctor, however, whose advice we took, stated that she had no fever beyond that excited by the events of the day. This said abbess is very wily; she is a native born of Franche Comté. After the oaths which we administered she must be very subtle and advised if she has not told the truth. The Archbishop solemnly excommunicated her unless she confessed all, and declared her incapable of being absolved therefrom; she then took oath on the Holy Eucharist—which is the most stringent oath that we could administer. She testifies the strongest affection for the Queen and denies everything. She says that her Majesty has been wickedly accused of many false things, but she is

a just and virtuous princess. When she was leaving the convent she said that God would avenge her for the cruelty and injustice under which she suffered, and that wrong could not last for ever. Her community was reluctant to permit her to leave: there was, however, no resistance, but perfect obedience to the mandate of the King—so much so, that such submission is rarely met with in other convents. All the nuns of the community offered to attend her." [42]

The unfortunate abbess was placed in a coach surrounded by a guard, and conveyed to the Castle of Bussière; there she was subjected to rigorous imprisonment, being debarred for many weeks from taking the air and from communication with her relatives.

Richelieu had prescribed the points on which the examination at the Val de Grâce was to turn, which had been signified in writing by De Noyers. Anne's confession was cleverly made the basis of all future inquiry, and, as it seems, the aim of the examinations which ensued was rather to confirm her assertions for the satisfaction of the King than to elicit further discovery. Her Majesty, however, in her confession of the 17th of August, had made no mention of the abbess of the Val de Grâce. On the very morning therefore of the domiciliary visit to the convent, Richelieu hastily sought an interview with the Queen and extracted from her further admissions, which Anne gave thus, under her own sign-manual, and sent by Le Gras to the minister:

"The Queen has commanded me further to inform Monseigneur l'Eminentissime, Cardinal Duc de Richelieu, as follows:

"That she confesses to have given a cipher to La Porte, to use in his correspondence with the Marquis de Mirabel, in order that he might write to the said Marquis the items mentioned in her declaration of the 17th day of this month, and that the said La Porte returned to her said Majesty the cipher, which the Queen burnt.

"That her Majesty knows that the Duke de Lorraine sent an envoy to Madame de Chevreuse, but she is not aware whether it was to treat concerning public or private affairs—her Majesty not wishing or intending to accuse Madame de Chevreuse in this matter, but she leaves it to La Porte to confess what he may know of the affair.

"It is true that Madame de Chevreuse visited her Majesty twice in the Val de Grâce during her second exile to Dampierre; she also owns to have received letters from the said Dame de Chevreuse at the said Val de Grâce. Moreover, quite recently, a man was sent to convey news of Madame de Chevreuse to the Queen when at the Val de Grâce.

"That her Majesty wrote many times from the Val de Grâce to Madame de Chevreuse before the outbreak of the war.

"That the Chevalier de Montagu visited her Majesty once at the Val de Grâce, where also she received several letters from the said lord, sent through Auger; the said letters being only

complimentary effusions. Letters also were sent by Montagu for Madame de Chevreuse.

"That when the Queen was at Lyons and wrote to the abbess of Val de Grâce to forward letters in the words, 'Give these to your relative,' her Majesty thereby meant to say, 'Send these letters to Madame de Chevreuse.'" [43]

The King's assertion to La Hautefort, "that the Queen was a traitor to her friends," seems rather confirmed by Anne's gratuitous statements relative to her devoted friend the Duchess de Chevreuse. From these last admissions Richelieu framed his instructions to his examiners at Val de Grâce, and for the personages whom he was about to despatch to interrogate Madame de Chevreuse. The Cardinal doubtless wished to have all the high personages concerned at his mercy, though perhaps he might not choose to submit them all to that of King Louis.

"INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN UNDER THE HAND OF M. DE NOYERS, FOR THE EXAMINATION OF THE ABBESS OF LE VAL DE GRÂCE.[44]

"The Queen has confessed that when she directed the abbess thus—'*Donnez cette lettre à votre parente*,' that she meant to indicate the Duchess de Chevreuse.

"That she often wrote from the Val de Grâce to persons in Spain when the Marquis de Mirabel was in Paris.

"That she has confided to the care of the abbess two reliquaries and some jewels.

"These three confessions cannot comprehend all, therefore it will be necessary to put the following queries to the abbess Louise de Milly :

"Inquire of the said abbess if the Queen never wrote in her convent ? Ask her also whether the Queen wrote during the residence of the Marquis de Mirabel in Paris ? and how often and to whom ? And what the direction meant on one of the letters —'*Donnez cette lettre à votre parente*' ?

"If the said abbess persists in saying that she was to give the letter to one of her own relatives and not to Madame de Chevreuse, a fresh oath is to be administered to her and she is to be again exhorted to speak the truth. If she continues to persist in her assertion it is to be represented to her how miserable and degraded is her perjured state, seeing that the Queen has confessed quite the contrary to the King, allowing that while the Marquis de Mirabel was here she often wrote letters from the Val de Grâce addressed to personages in Spain and Flanders, and confessing that the words, '*Donnez cette lettre à votre parente*,' were meant to designate Madame de Chevreuse.

"You will then take notice whether the said abbess contradicts her Majesty's assertion or confirms it.

"She is then to be asked whether the Queen has confided to her care any papers, packets, ciphers or other things ? If she denies that such is the fact another oath is to be administered, then if she still persists in her assertion she is to be told that the Queen admits to have confided to

her care a large and a small reliquary and jewels."

Furnished with these instructions commissioners were sent down to Bussière to interrogate the abbess for the second time, August 28th. She then confessed that the Queen had often written letters in her convent though she knew not to whom they were addressed, that Madame de Chevreuse went under the *sobriquet* of *sa parente*, that she knew nothing of the Queen's employment when at the convent, but she received her Majesty at the portal of the convent, led her through the *grille* and to the door of her private parlour, that she had no acquaintance with La Porte, that she had received the two reliquaries in trust for the Queen, both of which might be found at the convent—also the jewels, which Madame de la Flotte could identify, that she had spoken the truth, that the Queen had often written from the Val de Grâce but had not informed the abbess of the contents of her letters, and that all letters sent from the convent had been asked for in the name of the Duchess de Chevreuse.[45]

The interrogatories put to La Porte in the Bastille were of much the same character, and referred rather to the Queen's clandestine correspondence seven years back than to the present charges against her. The devotion manifested by La Porte was heroic, and ought to have been put forth in a better cause. He avowed that he had carried letters to and from the Val de Grâce

to Madame de Chevreuse, but vehemently denied that the Queen had foreign correspondents, or that he had holden intercourse in her behalf with the foes of France. His cool self-possession never varied. Nothing could be extracted damaging to the reputation of the Queen or of Madame de Chevreuse, except that in defiance of the royal prohibition they corresponded and sometimes used numerals as a cipher. His first interrogatory occurred on the 13th of August. All that was obtained from La Porte in the way of avowal was that the figure 2 in the letter found in his pocket meant the Queen, the number 3, M. le Cardinal, 19, Madame de Chevreuse, 15, M. de Montbazon, &c. His second examination took place on the 14th of August, and again La Porte obstinately denied that the Queen had any foreign correspondents as far as he knew, all that he could testify to—were letters of the year 1630 addressed to Madame de Chevreuse, and the two letters taken from him which were intended for the same noble lady. By the command of the King, whose suspicions were excited by the discrepancy between La Porte's statements and the Queen's confession, Anne's apartments in the Louvre were examined. Séguier was also commanded to search the hôtel de Chevreuse, and to bring every paper found therein or in the Louvre direct to the King. The result was the capture of a few more letters of ancient date, both in the handwriting of the Queen and of the Duchess, in which the Cardinal

was very hardly treated by both. As it was evident that Anne had not avowed all her dealings with the foes of France, when through the Cardinal she obtained pardon, but on the contrary had afterwards made fresh revelations, Louis resolved that she should undergo a fresh examination before the Chancellor Pierre de Séguier, the point especially to be elicited being what had become of the correspondence known to have been harboured at the Val de Grâce? This ordeal Anne was compelled to submit to on the 22nd of August, but there exists no *procès-verbal* of its course. M. Cousin, in his admirable life of Madame de Chevreuse, doubts that the Queen was ever subjected to this indignity at all, but Madame de Motteville and the famous Mademoiselle de Montpensier, Siri and others assert in their Memoirs that the examination did in reality occur. Madame de Motteville, indeed, states the fact on the authority of Anne of Austria, in whose service she remained to the end of the Queen's life. It is nevertheless proved by modern research that Anne was never subjected to the outrage of having her pockets, the bosom of her dress and her farthingale searched like a common felon by the Chancellor, as has been universally asserted in all narratives of the events of this period. The scene of the Queen's humiliation was said to have been her apartment in the Val de Grâce, but Anne was at Chantilly during the whole of these proceedings, while the true revelation of what occurred on the visit of Séguier

to the convent is still on record under his own hand and seal in the Bibliothèque Impériale. "It was at Chantilly," relates Madame de Motteville, "that this grand affair occurred, the very remembrance of which in after days inspired the Queen with horror. It was supposed that the Cardinal wished to reduce her to extremity by his measures that he might send her back to Spain."

Anne meanwhile continued at Chantilly in agonies of suspense. Distrusting the Cardinal, and dreading lest the torture would wring from her faithful La Porte admissions which Richelieu might find it impossible to conceal from the King, she was almost distracted with apprehension. It was besides imperative that La Porte should confirm her confessions, as much for the satisfaction of the King as for his own escape from cruel torture, which would certainly be mercilessly applied by Laffémas until he had owned all she had declared that he knew. An attempt to communicate with La Porte in order to inform him what she had avowed became therefore highly important for Anne's safety. She had written, after her interview with Séguier, to her faithful Marie de Hautefort detailing the course of events, the admissions she had made, and imploring her friend, by every pathetic entreaty, to devise some means of communicating with La Porte in the Bastille and with Madame de Chevreuse at Tours. Anne's appeal was answered by self-sacrificing devotion on the part of Mademoiselle de Hautefort, indeed there are on record few more touching instances of

courageous affection. Within the Bastille the Chevalier de Jars still lingered, his sentence of death, as has been before related, having been commuted on the scaffold to imprisonment for life in that fortress. It occurred, therefore, to Mademoiselle de Hautefort that M. de Jars, who had already twice paid the penalty of a terrible punishment for his attachment to the fortunes of the Queen, might be again induced to risk his life a third time in her cause.[46] With M. de Jars, however, Mademoiselle de Hautefort had no acquaintance; she therefore applied to Madame de Villarceaux, a niece of the late lord-keeper, who was intimately acquainted with the poor prisoner, and was at stated intervals permitted to visit him in the Bastille. Madame de Villarceaux pitied the Queen, and agreed to ask M. de Jars whether he could assist her in this extremity. Suffering had made the Chevalier cautious, and de Jars declined to compromise the miserable position which he owed to the King's clemency,[47] adding that in itself the thing was impossible, as La Porte was incarcerated in a deep dungeon and was never suffered to see the light of day except when brought before his judges for examination.

Madame de Villarceaux communicated her failure to la Hautefort. The latter, upon consideration, resolved to incur the risk of writing a letter to de Jars which Madame de Villarceaux promised to carry in person. The interview between M. de Jars and his friend took place in an inner court of the prison, where vigilant eyes could

watch the actions of the imprisoned persons thus favoured. De Jars, nevertheless, was able to read the letter, but again refused to tamper in any new intrigue. In despair at her repeated failures, Mademoiselle de Hautefort resolved to accompany Madame de Villarceaux in disguise, see M. de Jars and lay upon him the peremptory commands of the Queen that he should again serve her. Mademoiselle de Hautefort, therefore, joined her friend early one morning in the disguise of a *soubrette ;* over this costume she threw a large, coarse cloak, having a wide hood in which she concealed her face. It was an unusual privilege, that of admitting female visitors to see a prisoner in the Bastille upon three consecutive days, under the iron rule of the then captain of the Bastille, who was the elder brother of the Capuchin Joseph, and still more so to admit the same persons and to leave them to discourse freely. It is just possible, therefore, that Richelieu might have been an unsuspected confederate in Mademoiselle de Hautefort's project. There exists, however, no evidence to confirm the supposition, except the extreme improbability that Mademoiselle de Hautefort and her friend were able to outwit the minister and his Argus-eyed jailers at the Bastille in the manner which they subsequently achieved. The pair on the morning of the 26th of August, therefore, drove to the Bastille and on demand were admitted into the little court. The hour was so early that the Chevalier had not yet quitted his cell. Madame de Villarceaux therefore sent a message to the

effect that she wished to see him without delay, as she had brought the sister of his sick valet de chambre, who, having been given over by the doctor, had sent his sister to speak to his master on urgent affairs. The Chevalier, knowing that his valet was in perfect health, began to suspect some unwelcome and perhaps dangerous solicitations and very unwillingly descended to greet his friend Madame de Villarceaux. The supposed *soubrette* advanced towards him, apparently in great distress; presently she took his hand, and raised her hood. "What, Madame, it is you!" exclaimed M. de Jars, aghast. Mademoiselle de Hautefort let her hood drop and putting her finger to her lips, made a curtsey, and assuming the deportment of one in her apparent condition, said, "You may well be surprised, Monsieur, to see me here, but your astonishment will increase when you learn that I come by the absolute command of the Queen." Marie then took a paper from her pocket, and giving it the Chevalier, continued, "This, Monsieur, is what the Queen has given me to confide to you; you are required to employ your influence and wit in this horrible place to cause that small paper to reach the hands of the prisoner La Porte who is confined here in a dungeon. I feel assured, Monsieur, knowing your loyalty and your love for our dear royal mistress, that you will not abandon her in this hour of her extreme peril. I have already, through Madame de Villarceaux, attempted to secure to her Majesty your aid, without which I dare not contemplate the

future." De Jars hesitated; suffering had broken his courage and had impaired his powers of resource. Mademoiselle de Hautefort perceived his agitation; tears trembled in her own eyes as she hurriedly exclaimed, "Oh, Monsieur! Monsieur! can you hesitate to serve the Queen? Do I not run also perilous risks? for if I should be discovered what would become of me?" De Jars at length said, "The will of the Queen shall be performed as far as I am able. I see no alternative. God help me! I have just escaped the scaffold—and this affair if discovered will again consign me to death—but I am worn out, broken in health! Say to the Queen, Madame, that as I served her in the days of hopeful youth I now devote to her the remnant of my life." [48] He then concealed the Queen's letter in his sleeve, the two ladies hurried from the prison and returned without accident to the Louvre.

A few hours later the King arrived at the Louvre and commanded the presence of Marie de Hautefort and of his confessor. Nothing transpired relative to either of these interviews, and the King after giving audience to Séguier and others returned to Chantilly. Louis was gloomy and ill, he was evidently displeased that no progress had been made in the elucidation of the problem of the Queen's innocence or guilt, for nothing could divert him from the persuasion that the perusal of the letters which he hoped to have seized in the Val de Grâce, and the confessions of La Porte, would throw light on the fall of the

fortresses of Corbie and La Capelle, and on the treacherous surrender of Câtelet to the Spaniards.

The Chevalier de Jars, meanwhile, considered how he could best discharge the perilous mission confided to him, and which he set about under the conviction that his life would be sacrificed in the attempt. The Queen ever held the lives and fortunes of her friends cheap when her interest prompted a sacrifice. The King was right when he declared that Anne's disposition was ungrateful and egotistical. La Porte was a prisoner *au secret*, immured in one of the deepest dungeons of the Bastille. The Chevalier at length ascertained that the dungeon of La Porte was under the tower in which he himself was imprisoned. His room was at the top of the tower, below were two other cells, and in the one on the basement story, immediately over the den in which La Porte lay, was a certain Baron de Tenance and one Réveillon a servant of the unfortunate Marshal de Marillac. De Jars commenced operations by making a hole in the floor of his room. When he had accomplished this undertaking in the night, he was able to communicate with the inmates of the cell below who were two poor clowns imprisoned for seditious conduct at Bordeaux. They agreed to help in the design, and during the subsequent night they also succeeded in piercing their floor and in communicating with the prisoners below. De Jars, on learning their success and who the prisoners were, lowered a small fragment of paper on which he wrote his object, and implored

their aid in communicating with the prisoner below. "They promised to serve him," relates La Porte in his Memoirs,[49] "for prisoners are inspired with the strongest kindness for each other. The said prisoners, therefore, made a hole in the flooring of their room under which was my dungeon, which hole they concealed during the day by putting over it the leg of their table. When they heard my soldier open the door of my dungeon to perform some necessary service in the morning, knowing therefore that during that brief interval I was alone, they lowered to me the letter which they had received. The first letter which I got simply informed me that a lady had been making inquiries about me, who desired to know what questions had been put in my interrogatories, and also to give me some important information which should be imparted on receiving assurance that this first letter had reached me safely. That I was to confide in the writer—who was a prisoner also and the devoted servant of my mistress, and that he warned me to confide in no one, but to suspect everybody in the Bastille except himself. I had, however, neither pen nor ink to make reply; besides, I suspected the writer. Two days afterwards, when my soldier had left my cell on his accustomed errands, I saw another letter descend to me which reproached me for not writing, and which gave me some important hints from the quarter my advices came. I therefore took courage, and the same night, when my soldier was asleep, I softly rose and placing myself before

the lamp with my back to him, I crushed a little coal, which I mixed with cinder-dust, burnt straw, and kneaded with oil from my lamp. Then I took a straw and scrawled upon the back of a letter-cover which they had left in my pocket that so many things had been demanded of me that I could not answer the questions, but that I had confessed nothing which could injure any one. When my soldier again left me the prisoners above spoke to me, hearing the door of my dungeon open, and they then lowered to me a thread with a little pebble attached, to which I tied my letter which they instantly drew up." The following day the letter written by Anne of Austria reached La Porte. "I was then fully instructed what the Queen had acknowledged and therefore what facts it was requisite that I should confess at my next interrogation." This narrative, extraordinary as it appears, is confirmed by authentic evidence, besides being related by La Porte himself. The plotters were never discovered, and M. de Jars suffered no additional penalty for his chivalrous devotion. The question which naturally occurs is—could it be probable that in the Bastille itself it was possible, in the space of four days, for prisoners to perforate, unknown to their jailers, three floorings of one of the strongest towers of the fortress, to communicate with each other through the fissures thus made, and finally to penetrate to a prisoner in a dungeon under ground, constantly guarded by a soldier, in the brief intervals in which he was left alone, and

through an aperture in the roof of his dungeon without attracting attention or discovery? The incident seems drawn from the pages of romance instead of being a veritable episode of prison-life within that dreadful fortress. Anne's secret moreover was known by de Jars, by the Bordeaux captives, by MM. de Tenance and de Réveillon, who all preserved religious silence on the event. That the deed was accomplished there is no reason to doubt, but whether the prisoners deceived their governor M. de Tremblay, or his brother the wily Capuchin, or his Eminence the Cardinal, as they fancied and believed, or that their purpose was connived at by these personages, is a point which may be surmised but never ascertained.

La Porte received his information not a day too soon. On the 27th of August he was summoned before Séguier, who was attended by Laffémas and la Potherye. On the 19th of August, Séguier, who seems to have proceeded in good earnest with the investigation, had written to Richelieu to inform him of the little progress made. "La Porte," writes the Chancellor, "has been now interrogated three times. Your Eminence will perceive that he stoutly refuses to afford any information on the matters mentioned by the Queen in the letter taken from him. M. de la Potherye awaits an order to proceed again to La Bussière; it is requisite to continue the process and the interrogatories of the abbess of Val de Grâce. I have sent an order to Patrocle [50] and to his wife to repair to Bourges, according to the command which I

received from the King. He intends to obey, but declares he is innocent. He has written to the King, which letter I send to your Eminence to present if you should deem it expedient." [51]

La Porte's fourth examination took place in the torture-vault of the Bastille. Surrounded by the terrible implements, lurid light shining only within the chamber, exhausted by hunger and by the pestilential atmosphere of his cell, Anne's faithful servant was again summoned to confess the enterprises which he had undertaken in her behalf. Falling on his knees, La Porte now promised to make ample confession on the sole condition that Anne would send one of her officers to command him to speak. The judges consulted together, when Séguier desired the prisoner to name the person whom he wished to see. La Porte asked for La Rivière, an officer of the Queen's household and a friend of M. de Laffémas—a person in whom he placed no trust, but whom, with wonderful dexterity, being instructed beforehand in what he was to avow, he requested to see in order to disarm suspicion. It so happened that this La Rivière was a prisoner in the Bastille where he had been consigned for some trifling offence. La Porte therefore was sent back to his dungeon for a few hours and the sitting suspended. Séguier, meantime, communicated with the King, believing that important revelations were at last forthcoming. Louis approved of the decision of the judges and unhesitatingly directed that a fictitious message should be delivered as from the

Queen by La Rivière, whose mission was to be further authenticated by the important credential of a letter addressed to La Porte in the Queen's own hand commanding him expressly to confess everything.[52] How this letter was extorted there is no record, probably the stern order of her consort in person left Anne no alternative but to submit to this fresh ordeal. During the night of the 27th of August the same personages met again, surrounded by the same grim *entourage*. "La Rivière," writes Séguier in his *procès-verbal* of the examination, "being sent for, explained to the prisoner that her Majesty commanded him to reveal the truth, otherwise she would for ever abandon and desert him. The said La Porte then dropped on his knees, saying that as the Queen willed it he would confess all that he knew, to wit—that about eight months ago by order of the Queen he conveyed four or five small packets to a person named Auger who lived in the Faubourg St. Germain, and that he had been to the same house to receive letters for the Queen which were given to him, that he denied any intimacy with M. Auger and had never spoken to him but once when the said Auger was leaving the Queen's apartments in the Louvre. He also confessed that the Queen had recently given him a paper which he had the curiosity to peruse and found to be the cipher used in her correspondence with Madrid. He kept it only one day as he was ignorant what he was to do with it, the Queen never having given directions, that he knew nothing of the envoy

sent to Madame de Chevreuse from Lorraine and strenuously denied knowledge thereof. He denied that he was in the habit of carrying letters to the Val de Grâce and stated that he had attended the convent chapel once only—on a Good Friday. Being asked if M. Patrocle, usher to the Queen, knew of the late *menées?* he replied that he was not aware that the Queen had ever employed the said Patrocle in secret on important missions. La Porte added that he knew of nothing more, but after he had received permission from her Majesty he resolved to avow all frankly. That the reason he had before denied knowledge of that which he now confessed was that he wished to keep his fidelity without alloy to the Queen his mistress, but that having been exonerated by the permission of her Majesty he gladly relieved his conscience by avowal."[53] So admirable did La Porte's constancy appear to Richelieu, that he was heard to lament that he possessed not so faithful a servant.

The Cardinal, meantime, took the singular resolve to confer privately and invisibly with La Porte. Chavigny had apartments at the Arsenal, in the garden of which a broad gravel pathway led to a postern of the fortress, often used by the late Duc de Sully in his double capacity of Grand Master of Artillery and Governor of the Bastille. Richelieu placed himself upon Chavigny's bed, and drawing the curtains closely round commanded the prisoner to be brought into the chamber. La Porte instantly recognised the

voice of the Cardinal, a fact which his circumspect and respectful replies betrayed. Finding that he could elicit nothing further by way of evidence, Richelieu admonished La Porte in the name of the Queen to make a clean breast, and referred to her Majesty's late letter. "I am amazed," replied La Porte, "that her Majesty has again thought it necessary to command me to confess the truth, seeing that my various interrogatories have doubtless been submitted to her inspection by which she might perceive that I have told all I knew. Nevertheless, if to speak falsely will serve her Majesty, although it would doubtless consign me to the scaffold, I am ready to obey and submit." [54]

Richelieu probably was not the dupe of La Porte's affected simplicity; he had convicted the Queen fully and utterly by her own verbal confession, under her own hand and seal and by the incontrovertible evidence of the papers he had openly produced—without reference to any documents which he might choose to suppress. The alternative cannot be evaded that either the Queen, informed of the proceedings about to be taken against her, found means to destroy her papers at the Val de Grâce, or that Richelieu caused a surreptitious seizure to be made thereof, to be used according to circumstances and at his pleasure. The painful dismay evinced by Anne, when at Chantilly she heard of the arrest of La Porte from Mademoiselle de Hautefort, seems to be quite at variance with a notion that she was

expecting and prepared to encounter the storm. Aware that no treasonable correspondence existed to convict her, she could have afforded to wait tranquilly the manœuvres of the Cardinal, and to brave, as she had so often done before, the wrath of the King her husband.

To restore a semblance of festivity and concord at Chantilly, the Cardinal caused numerous invitations to be issued. It was necessary to show to the country at large that the Queen was not a prisoner nor in immediate peril of divorce or of imprisonment for life in the fortress of Hâvre as it was reported all over the realm. The King also had sunk into a fit of morbid gloom from which nothing seemed to rouse him, deepened by the conviction that one night, on passing along a gallery of the château, he had seen the apparition of the late Marshal de Montmorency.

Mademoiselle de Montpensier and her troop of young and noble maidens, her playfellows, were therefore summoned to make the sombre château ring with merriment. "After I arrived at Chantilly," relates this shrewd young lady, who was then only ten years old, "I put every one into good humour. The King was devoured with melancholy and suspicions which had been inspired by the Queen. The Queen was in bed, and ill, which she might well have been for a smaller cause than the affront which she had just received —for the Chancellor had examined her at Chantilly on the day preceding that of my arrival. She was in the first agony of her grief at this

affront, which however the presence of Madame de St. George allayed, as it was through her that the Queen now determined to continue her intercourse with Monsieur." [55]

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

[1] Harte's History of the Life of Gustavus Adolphus, t. 1. Galeazzo, Hist. delle Guerre di Ferdinando II. e III. contro Gostavo-Adolfo Re di Suetia, e Luigi XIII. Re di Francia.

[2] Harte's History of Gustavus Adolphus, t. 1, p. 231.

[3] Equivalent to 400,000 crowns, as stated in the treaty of Berwalt.

[4] Harte, t. 1. Galeazzo, Hist. delle Guerre di Ferdinando II. The name of the officer who gave the mortal wound to the great Gustavus was Maurice Falkenberg. The Duke of Saxe Lauenburg was suspected as the contriver of the base assassination.—Vie du Père Joseph de Tremblay.

[5] Brother of the Queen of France, towards whom Anne showed extraordinary attachment.

[6] Daughter of Philip II. and of Elizabeth de Valois. She was a princess of sagacity and piety, and was greatly venerated by her subjects and by her kinsmen of Spain. The Archduchess Infanta is interred in the church of Ste. Gudule of Brussels.

[7] Articles de l'accommodement de M. le Duc d'Orléans avec le Roy son Frère, etc.—Aubéry, Mém. pour l'Hist. du Cardinal de Richelieu, t. 2, p. 232.

[8] Aubéry, t. 2.

[9] Mathias, Count Gallas or Galasso, a native of the district of Trent. Count Gallas died 1646. He held supreme command at the battle of Nordlingen.

[10] Vie du Père Joseph de Tremblay. The Capuchin taunted his patron, as "une poule mouillée," for his panic; and advised him to show himself boldly to the populace.

[11] Madrid is a château in the Bois de Boulogne, which was built by Francis I. after his return from his captivity in Spain. The King used to retire there, and the courtiers spoke of his Majesty, "comme étant à Madrit," during the period of his temporary seclusion.

[12] Aubéry, t. 3.

[13] Hist. du Card. Duc de Richelieu.

[14] M. de Chavigny au Cardinal de la Valette.—Aubéry, Mém. pour l'Hist. du Card. Duc de Richelieu, t. 3. Paris, à 21 Nov., 1636.

[15] Aubéry, t. 2.—Promesses du Roy et de M. le Duc d'Orléans. Signed at Orleans, February 6th, 1637.—Siri, Memorie Recondite, t. 9.—Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis XIII., t. 4.

[16] Aubéry, t. 5.

[17] Vie du Père Joseph.—Siri, Memorie Recondite.

[8] "Le Capucin missionnaire raconta tout au Père Joseph, et celui-ci au Cardinal. Son Eminence résolut de rompre ce commerce ; et fit comprendre au Roi le danger qu'il y avait d'écrire clandestinement à un ennemi de l'Etat." Vie du Père Joseph de Tremblay, Capucin nommé au Cardinalat.

[19] Bertrand de Chaux, Archbishop of Tours, whose ignorance and simplicity were the best excuses for his aberrations.

[20] Vie du Card. Duc de Richelieu.—Siri, Galerie des Personnages Illustres, t. 4.—Préface aux Mém. de Richelieu depuis l'ann. 1616 à 1620.—Bassompierre, Journal de ma Vie.

[21] Procès-Verbal du Chancelier (Séguier).—MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. Fr. No. 4068.—Pièces relatives à l'affaire du Val de Grâce.

[22] Ibid. Mém. de la Porte, Coll. Pettitot.

[23] Journal du Card. de Richelieu, publié en 1648.

[24] Vie de Mademoiselle de la Fayette, Dreux du Radier. "Le Roy et elle se quittèrent les larmes aux yeux."

[25] Griffet, Hist. du Règne de Louis XIII., t. 3, ann. 1637.

[26] Mém. de Richelieu, t. 10. Interrogatoires de la Porte. Ibid. Mémoires.—Lettre du Père Carré au Cardinal de Richelieu. "La Porte, le jour qu'il fut pris, avoit voulu donner les lettres de la Reyne à un gentilhomme qui refusa de les prendre, feignant qu'il devoit demeurer ici encore trois jours. La Porte lui conseilla de prendre congé de la Reyne lorsque sa majesté entreroit en carrosse ; ce qu'il fit : et elle ne manqua pas de lui dire, 'La Porte vous doit donner une lettre,' à laquelle il s'excusa. Madame de la Flotte m'avertit qu'une personne lui avoit dit, que la Porte avoit un chiffre qui servoit à déchiffrer les lettres qu'on écrivoit à la Reyne."—Cousin, Appendice, Vie de Madame de Chevreuse.

[27] Vie Inédite de Madame de Hautefort, publiée par M. Victor Cousin. Vie d'Anne d'Autriche ; Mém. de Motteville, vi.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Relation de ce qui s'est passé en l'affaire de la Reine sur le sujet de La Porte, et de l'Abbesse de Val de Grâce. MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. F. 4068.

[30] Mém. pp. 352, 353, et seq.

[31] Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis XIII., t. 4. "On parle fort à la Cour de l'affaire de la Reine," writes Grotius in another despatch. "Les gens disent communément qu'en voyant les lettres qu'elle écrivoit en Espagne par l'Angleterre surprises et déchiffrées, elle a demandé pardon au Roi ; et qu'en présence de 9 témoins, entre lesquels on compte son propre confesseur, celui du Roi, et De Noyers, elle confessa avoir écrit à Madrid sur les moyens de traverser la ligue projectée entre la France et l'Angleterre ; marqué les endroits faibles où le royaume peut être attaqué ; et averti le roi d'Espagne de se défier d'un certain Bachelièr, envoyé en France sous prétexte d'acquitter un vœu de la Reine à St.-Isidore," &c. &c.

[32] Vie MS. Cousin ; Vie de Madame de Hautefort.

[33] MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. Fr. 4068.

[34] The letter alluded to by the Queen is probably the following one—one of the few letters written during her married life extant. The letter is given as in the original, in Anne's phraseology and spelling: "Hermano mio—Sino fuera porque temo de cansar le, con mis cartas no dejaria pasar ningun ordinario sin escrivirle; mas, no peudo acabar? conmigo el dejar pasar este sin hazerlo, y dezir lo que he sentido harto que ayan venido dos o très sin haber sabido nuevas suyas; y por acà se dizen algunas tan diferentes de las que yo deseo, que aunque no las creo, no dejaré de da me grandissima pena; y asi le supplico que mande que no venga ningun ordin° sin que yo sepa nuevas suyas; y quando no me pudiere escribir, mande que escrivan a Don Christoval para que el me las pudiere dar. Si supiese lo que yo me huelgo con ellas, no duda de la mercedes que me haze, que tendria muchiss° cuyadado que no me faltasen algun dia. Espéro en Dios, que le podre dezir el consuelo que es para mi; y que con esto se puede haber (sufrir) todo: el me cumple este deseo, que le prometo que despues de la salvacion es el mayor que tengo. Suplico Nrõ. Señor que me guarde Hermano mio como deseo."—MS. Bibl. Imp. Fonds. Fr., 9241—3747, fol. 3.

[35] MS. Bibl. Imp. Supplément François, No. 4068. Pièces relatives à l'affaire de 1637.

[36] Jeanne de Montluc, Countess de Carmain, daughter of Sieur de Montesquion and of Jeanne de Foix: she married Charles d'Escoubleau, Marquis d'Alluye et de Sourdis, and died in 1657.

[37] Bibl. Imp. MS. Suppl. Fr. 4068. All these manuscript relations of events are in the handwriting of the Cardinal de Richelieu.

[38] The Queen's private secretary.

[39] MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. Fr. 4068. This document is in the handwriting of Le Gras, and was a copy furnished to the Cardinal in obedience to his mandate. The original may perhaps be still on the shelves of the French Foreign Office; though, probably, Anne of Austria, after her accession to power as Regent of France, would decree the suppression of this and many other damaging papers connected with her career as Queen-consort.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis XIII., t. 4.

[42] MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. Fr. 4068. Lettre Autographe du Chancelier Séguier au Cardinal de Richelieu, avec une note de sa main.

[43] Ibid. Nouvelle Declaration de la Reine, 22 Aoust, 1637.

[44] Ibid. Instructions de la main de De Noyers adressées au Chancelier pour interroger La Porte, et l'Abbesse du Val de Grâce.

[45] Ibid. Interrogatoire de l'Abbesse du Val de Grâce, du 28 Aoust.

[46] François de Rochechouart, Chevalier de Jars, had suffered exile for his connivance in the revels of the Court when at Amiens, and attended his friend the Duke of Buckingham to England. On his return to France, he again imprudently suffered himself to be drawn into the correspond-

ence between Châteauneuf and Madame de Chevreuse, and had been accused of carrying Anne's correspondence to Monsieur.

[47] De Jars was then a prisoner at large within the precincts of the fortress.

[48] Cousin, Vie de Madame de Hautefort.—Motteville, Mém., t. 1, p. 83. "Ce fut en cette occasion que Madame de Hautefort, voulant généreusement se sacrifier pour la Reine, se déguisa en demoiselle suivante, pour aller à la Bastille donner une lettre à La Porte ; ce qui se fit avec beaucoup de peine, et de danger pour elle, par l'habileté du commandeur de Jars qui était encore prisonnier, et était créature de la Reine," &c.

[49] Mém. de La Porte (Petitot Coll.), p. 370.

[50] This Patrocle was a valet de chambre in the service of the Queen, upon whom the suspicions of the King had fallen.

[51] MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. Fr. 4068.

[52] "Le Roi commanda à la Reine d'écrire de sa main à La Porte, pour lui commander de dire tout ce qu'il savait ; mais comme il crut qu'elle avait été forcée d'écrire cette lettre, il ne changea rien en sa conduite." —Mém. de Motteville, t. 1, p. 85.

[53] MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. Fr. 4068. Dernier Interrogatoire de La Porte.

[54] Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis Treize, t. 4.—Mém. de Richelieu.—Mém. de Madame de Motteville, t. 1.

[55] Mém. de Mademoiselle de Montpensier, t. 1. Madame de St. George was Jeanne de Harley—one of the ladies once in attendance on Henrietta Maria, Queen of England, and who had been dismissed by Charles I. for her intrigues at the English court, and her noisy querulousness of disposition. Madame de St. George on her return to France had been appointed governess to Mademoiselle.

CHAPTER VIII

1637–1639

ANNE OF AUSTRIA, MOTHER OF THE DAUPHIN

The Duchess de Chevreuse during this interval had not escaped the shock which was rending the court. Neither the Queen nor her friend, Mademoiselle de Hautefort, dared to incur the suspicion of correspondence with a personage so distrusted by the minister. After her visit to the Bastille Mademoiselle de Hautefort sent her cousin, M. de Montalais to Tours, to seek, accidentally as it should appear, an interview with the duchess to impart the import of Anne's avowals, and the stage which the judicial proceedings had reached. M. de Montalais was also desired to reassure the duchess by a promise from Marie de Hautefort to give her timely notice, should affairs assume a serious aspect, by sending her a book of Hours bound in red velvet, while if matters were likely to be amicably settled, a volume of Hours bound in green velvet should apprise Madame de Chevreuse of the felicitous news.[1] Envoys despatched in the King's name, however, soon waited upon the Duchess to subject her to severe interrogatories. The noblemen thus sent were the Marshal de la Meilleraye, the Bishop of Auxerre and the Abbé Dorat, treasurer of the Sainte Chapelle, who was a personage known and trusted

by the Duchess. The private instructions of the commissioners empowered them to apply every pressure to extort confession; if Madame de Chevreuse denied her guilt and audaciously defied their authority the envoys were instructed to commit her a close prisoner in the neighbouring castle of Loches—that fortress of evil repute for its *oubliettes* and darksome prison cells. M. de la Meilleraye, who was a near kinsman of the Cardinal's, was commissioned to assure the Duchess of the good will of Richelieu, who still acknowledged himself the slave of her charms and her wit, in proof of which M. le Cardinal, being informed that her pecuniary circumstances were embarrassed, from the narrow income allowed her by the Duc de Chevreuse, had sent her 10,000 livres in gold. Madame de Chevreuse laughed in her sleeve, demurely accepted the gift, protesting that she had nothing to confess but would answer any interrogatories put to her. Aware that the letter had been seized in which she had proposed to Anne of Austria to pay her a clandestine visit, the Duchess was able to return an apparently candid and truthful reply to the questions put to her upon this subject. "I protest," replied she, "that in making this proposition I had no other object in view, excepting to pay my respects to the Queen, and to transact a few private affairs of my own in Paris. Far from intending to prejudice her Majesty against the Cardinal, it was my firm intent to exert all the influence which I possessed in his behalf!" She then proceeded to

eulogise the administration of the Cardinal, and to make great protestations of future friendship. The Duchess however was thoroughly on the alert; she distrusted and knew the value of Richelieu's fine protestations, she appreciated the dislike of the King and the danger to which she was exposed relative to her correspondence with Lorraine. The Duke her husband, upon being asked whether he would answer for her appearance if summoned to Paris, and whether he would undertake to put a stop to future clandestine correspondences replied by a shrug and an emphatic negative.[2] Anne's friend meantime, the Prince de Marsillac,[3] heir of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, had been significantly warned by Richelieu to refrain from visits or correspondence of any kind with the exiled Duchess. His father moreover had extorted an oath that he would avoid such communication, threatening in case of disobedience, that which in the present temper of the court it would have been easy to obtain—a *lettre de cachet* to imprison him in the Bastille. The young Prince, in despair at being thus obliged to abandon his royal mistress, did the best thing for her interests which he could under the circumstances—he communicated confidentially with Sir Herbert Croft who was at Douay, and induced him to repair in disguise to Tours. Croft succeeded in his mission, and after two secret interviews with the Duchess, raised her alarm to the highest pitch of terror, and in her haste to avoid incarceration at Loches, she resolved to fly

from France and take refuge in Spain with the brother of her good and persecuted royal mistress. Madame de Chevreuse was the more resolved to adhere to this resolution upon learning privately from the Marshal de la Meilleraye the terms which would insure her exemption from arrest. The Cardinal prescribed the cessation, total and complete, of intercourse of any description with Anne of Austria; her acknowledgment that she had guiltily and maliciously incited Queen Anne to acts of disloyalty to the realm and to the King; and her voluntary retreat back and continued residence at the Château de Milly. Hastily therefore the Duchess made preparation for flight; her jewels which were valued at the sum of 400,000 francs—spoils taken from the unfortunate Marquis d'Ancre—she sent by Croft to the Duke de la Rochefoucauld and his son at Verteuil, with a paper by which she bequeathed the jewels to the Prince de Marsillac in case of her death. The money sent to her by Richelieu amply sufficed for her wants during her journey. On the 6th of September therefore the Duchess after undergoing a fourth ordeal before Richelieu's envoys, pretended illness and lassitude to a degree which she said nothing but a solitary evening drive in her coach could relieve. The Duchess set out unmolested and continued her drive until nine o'clock, when at a given spot the coach stopped and she alighted in the dress of a cavalier, having managed during the route from Tours to effect that transformation. A faithful

servant, probably the brother of La Porte, was in waiting with a saddle-horse which the intrepid duchess mounted, and without attendants or baggage of any kind, set off in headlong flight to the frontier.[4] The coach returned by a circuitous way to Tours, and drew up before her door with all due ceremony, as if its mistress was about to descend and enter the mansion. By this stratagem the flight of Madame de Chevreuse was unknown until the middle of the following day when she was beyond pursuit. The Duchess rode without drawing rein until she arrived at Ruffec, a place one league from Verteuil, the magnificent palace of the La Rochefoucaulds. Unwilling to compromise her friends, and yet being in urgent need of assistance, Madame de Chevreuse wrote hastily the following note to the Prince de Marsillac at a way-side hostelry, which she sent up to the château by a peasant boy: "MONSIEUR,—The writer of this note is a French gentleman who implores your help to save his life. He has unfortunately fought a duel and killed his antagonist, a gentleman of rank, which sudden event obliges him to fly from France to escape arrest. You, Monseigneur, he hears, are likely to be generous enough to afford your protection to an unknown. He implores you therefore to lend him a coach and servants to help him on the way."

"I sent my own coach," states the young Prince de Marsillac, when interrogated on the affair, "with a servant named Poter, who had a suspicion that the distressed cavalier was Madame

de Chevreuse."[5] "One hundred yards from my master's château I met a young cavalier wearing a flaxen wig, who appeared almost spent with fatigue. He entered the coach alone and immediately threw himself at the bottom to repose," was the evidence of the servant. Poter drove Madame de Chevreuse rapidly to a lone hunting seat where she arrived at three o'clock in the morning, and was received by one Malbasty, a trusted retainer of La Rochefoucauld. Madame de Chevreuse rested some hours, then still being attended by Poter and Malbasty she again took horse. She wore a black casaque, and doublet and hose, boots, spurs and rapier, and her forehead was bound with a scarf of black taffetas, to protect a wound which she pretended to have received in the duel. At the first halt after leaving the house of M. de la Rochefoucauld, the little hostelry was full of people and she was obliged to rest on a truss of hay in an outhouse, and was soon in a deep sleep. So fair and gracious was the aspect of the sleeping young cavalier, that a kind, honest farmer's wife of the district passing by, was lost in admiration. "Never did I behold so fair and comely a lad!" exclaimed she, her heart melting with compassion at the comfortless plight of the stranger. "Monsieur, come and rest in my house, it will be a pleasure to serve such as you." Onwards however, in her painful flight, Madame de Chevreuse was compelled to hasten; Richelieu's myrmidons were Argus-eyed, and were spread over every province of France. Once she

was near capture by the Marquis d'Antin and a band of bold retainers. Again, when close to Bayonne, a gentleman at the head of a troop of followers rode up to take a closer inspection of so jaunty a cavalier and swift horseman. "Par le Sang-Dieu!" exclaimed the rough Béarnais gentleman, "if Monsieur were not dressed *en cavalier*, I should say that I saw the Duchesse de Chevreuse!" "Monsieur, I have the honour to be related nearly to the said lady Duchess!" replied the brave woman with a laugh, as she galloped past waving her cap to the Béarnais and his motley *entourage*. To troublesome inquirers as to her name, rank and business, the Duchess mysteriously hinted that she was the young Duke d'Enghien, flying to escape the Bastille for an *intrigue d'amour*, in which a life had been lost. At length after several weary days the bourne was attained and the rocky heights of Irun rose before the eager gaze of the poor fugitive. Flight then became unnecessary, and Madame de Chevreuse, beyond the power of her adversary, had leisure to summon resolution and courage for fresh enterprise, especially as the corregidor of Irun, upon hearing the name of the illustrious fugitive, called to place himself and the resources of the town at her disposal. Madame de Chevreuse made a first use of her power by despatching a messenger to Madrid, with letters addressed to their Catholic Majesties, praying for protection and the loan of equipages and an outfit suitable to her sex and station.[6]

The flight of Madame de Chevreuse and her daring defiance greatly incensed the King. Before she had crossed the frontier half a dozen emissaries were in full chase after the fugitive, all being the bearers of pacific declarations from the Cardinal. The Duke de Chevreuse, roused for once from his sloth, despatched his steward Boispille in hot pursuit after his runaway consort. Boispille came up with his mistress at Irun only, and was there treated with some truths from her lips to convey to his master, which led him to regret his bootless journey. The envoy of the Cardinal pursued his journey with more deliberation, stopping at Tours and at Verteuil to examine the Archbishop and the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, on the causes of the sudden flight of the Duchess, and to take cognizance of the measure in which they had been her abettors. The old Archbishop gave his evidence, weeping bitterly for the loss which he had sustained:[7] "The said lady Duchess called upon me to tell me that she had received warnings from two different personages sent purposely to apprise her that it had been determined to arrest and confine her in the Bastille, and that a troop of horse was already under orders to fetch her. She had therefore come to the resolve to fly from France, and that such haste was requisite that she had no choice but to retire into Spain." Vignier then continued his journey to Verteuil, leaving the prelate to mourn at leisure "the eclipse of the bright light which had shone upon his diocese." The loan of the

coach by the Prince de Marsillac to Madame de Chevreuse being a high crime and misdemeanour in the opinion of Richelieu, was punished by a painful journey under arrest to Paris, and by ten days of imprisonment in the Bastille.[8] The President then proceeded to the Pyrenean frontier to reprimand the incorrigible fugitive, but upon her promise of amendment to assure her of pardon provided she would obediently return to Tours and agree to a sojourn of three months at Dampierre, after which she might be permitted to appear again in Paris. This grace, however, was to be conceded only on the distinct understanding that the Duchess forthwith quitted the Spanish territory. An imbroglio of foreign affairs in Lorraine, England, Spain and Brussels, rose in grim array before Richelieu, if he suffered the escape from France of that *esprit brouillon*, that termagant fury, that false-lipped syren—Madame la Duchesse de Chevreuse! When Vignier arrived at Irun the Duchess was already on the road to Madrid, welcomed by Philip IV. as the dear friend and fellow-sufferer of his beloved sister, Doña Aña, and cheered by the frenzied applause of the people who flocked in crowds to gaze on her fair face and form.

Richelieu began now to tire of the judicial investigations, and having achieved his object he pressed the King to put an end to the public excitement, "and to the disgraceful aspect of a divided court," by giving his final fiats on the fate of the culprits still detained in durance. Anne

was therefore suffered to return to the Louvre. Louis, still unforgiving and still unconvinced, imposed upon the Queen a list of prohibitions, which as applied to a wife and to a sovereign princess seem of unsurpassed severity, and calculated to cast a shadow on the throne itself. The rules, written entirely by the King, were presented to Anne of Austria by the Cardinal de Richelieu, whose exhortations doubtless schooled her rebellious heart to outward submission.

"NOTE OF THE MATTERS TO WHICH I REQUIRE THE ASSENT OF THE QUEEN

"I desire that the Queen shall never more write to Madame de Chevreuse, because the pretext of this correspondence has been the blind behind which she has been able to correspond abroad and elsewhere.

"I desire that Madame de Senécé shall in future render to me a strict account of all the letters written by the Queen, and that these said letters shall be folded and sealed in her presence.

"It is my will that Filandre, the Queen's chief dresser, shall inform me every time that the Queen writes—the which it is impossible for the Queen to do without the knowledge of the said Filandre, as she has charge of the Queen's writing implements.

"I forbid the Queen to pay visits to any convents until I give her notice of my wishes in this respect. If I should ever rescind this my

command, it is my will that for the future she shall be attended in her visits to any convent whatever by her first lady in waiting and by the *dame d'atours*, who are never to leave her Majesty alone.

"I beg the Queen to remember that should the fancy again seize her to hold foreign correspondences, or to communicate intelligence from this country, directly or indirectly, that in such case, she has agreed to forfeit the benefit of the oblivion which I have conceded to her past bad conduct.

"The Queen will take notice that I forbid her to see or to hold communication with Croft, or with any other of the friends and emissaries of Madame de Chevreuse.

"Done at Chantilly, this 17th day of August, 1637. (Signed) "LOUIS."

Lower down on the same paper, Anne, with trembling hand, subscribes her humble acceptance of these stern behests of her consort, thus:

"I promise the King to observe, faithfully and religiously, all that he has been pleased to command me. "ANNE."[9]

The abbess of the Val de Grâce, after suffering prolonged imprisonment at Bussière, was deposed from her dignity and sent into a distant convent as a simple nun. La Porte, after enduring imprisonment for a year in the Bastille, was released from custody and exiled to his native town of Seiches in Anjou, under the prohibition of never quitting the limits of the province on penalty of

a fresh arrest. The nuns of the Val de Grâce remained for some time under the ban of their ecclesiastical superior, the Archbishop of Paris; the rules of their Order were restored in full severity, and the fine music in their chapel which had rendered it the resort of the *beau monde* of Paris on high festivals was suspended. With the elevation of a new abbess [10] the sisterhood gradually emerged from the cloud, but for some years the fair form of the young Queen of France never crossed the threshold of her once beloved retreat.

Anne, however, was nearer being avenged on the Cardinal de Richelieu for all his evil revelations than she supposed. Throughout the painful affair the Jesuit Caussin, confessor to the King, had stood her friend, perhaps not so much out of conviction of her innocence as from the persuasion that Anne henceforth could continue to share the throne of France only by Richelieu's sufferance, and consequently by living in complete subjection to his will. As one of the cabal to promote the deposition of the Cardinal from power patronised by the Queen-mother and Monsieur, Caussin deemed it his duty to avail himself of the visible discontent of the King at the failure of the proceedings against La Porte and others, to arouse the royal conscience on the heinousness of the alliance of France with the German and Swedish heretics, on the wickedness of the attempt to separate the Duke of Orleans from his wife, and on the prolonged and painful exile of Marie de' Medici. Mademoiselle de la

Fayette, now known as La Sœur Angélique,[11] seconded these intrigues with all her might, and spoke with the authority of one dead to the world and its carnal influences, and alive only to the promptings of religion, honour and truth. From the Low Countries the Queen-mother corresponded with Caussin, and exhorted him by every holy inspiration of principle and right, to awaken the mind of the King to the fact—that his person, his family, his realm and his consort were alike bound in the adamantine chains of a relentless enemy, whose Satanic ambition had no parallel on earth. Caussin even presented to the King a letter from Marie de' Medici, touching in its pathetic appeals, but yet leavened with a haughty spirit of defiance towards her ancient foe. Louis was moved. He replied, "I wish, I wish, that I could restore her, and bring her back to me; but I dare not discuss the subject with M. le Cardinal. If you can prevail, be sure that I will give my sanction!"[12] Sometimes Louis appeared to yield to the arguments of his confessor, at other times he pleaded fatigue and refused to listen to a word, then again, his confessions were interwoven with ejaculations expressive of his sorrow for the misdeeds of his minister. Caussin at length ventured to propose that the Cardinal should be dismissed and his place filled by the Duc d'Angoulême, natural son of King Charles IX., a prince of no knowledge, firmness or principle, and who had passed the greater part of his life a state prisoner in the Bastille. Louis, who loved to hear his minister

depreciated, and who delighted to discuss proposals which made clear to him that a stroke of his pen would overthrow the omnipotent Cardinal, listened with complacency, and replied to the pleadings of the Jesuit by nods of assent, but refused to commit himself by a single written line. At this period—the latter months of the year 1637—the Bishop of Mans died, and at the suggestion of Caussin the King gave the vacant bishopric to his sub-almoner, the Abbé de la Ferté, without previously naming the matter to Richelieu. This success fairly turned the scheming brain of the Jesuit. M. d'Angoulême one day asked his intercession with the King to insure the nomination of a lady, to whom he had promised his interest, as abbess of some sisterhood just deprived of its chief.[13] Caussin promised his help, adding that soon it would be for Monseigneur to confer favours and not to demand them! Being pressed by the Duke for an explanation, Caussin committed the folly of betraying the intrigue afloat. The Duke, frightened out of all propriety by this alarming revelation, implored to be excused from accepting a position for which he was totally unqualified, adding passionately, "that the intrigue would be defeated; that Louis never meant to dismiss a minister who, though a domestic tyrant, had filled the world with the glorious renown of France and her King!" "Monsieur," said the Jesuit, "you will ere long be called upon to assume the presidency of affairs, or to return to your apartment in the Bastille." The Duke, without further

parley, rushed to the apartments of Chavigny[14] in the Arsenal, and with the voice and manner of a man who deems his life at stake, implored the minister to wait upon the Cardinal at Ruel and impart the proposition just made by the reverend father, adding "that he had neither share nor blame in the concoction of so shameless an intrigue."

Subsequent to this astonishing act of folly, Father Caussin, in the plenitude of his new-fledged power, took upon himself to affirm to the King his conviction of the perfect innocence of Anne of Austria; that her late persecution was an egregious sin, and that the Cardinal had trumped up the letters which witnessed against her to serve his own unrighteous ends. Louis listened in sullen incredulity and wrath; the animosity of the Cardinal's enemies led them into the error of exaggeration, and Louis le Juste was ever ready to set himself right with his minister by betraying and deriding a calumniator. The Cardinal makes wrathful entry of the misdeeds of Caussin in his Diary: "Of all the persons who misbehaved themselves concerning the affair of La Porte, and who testified malignant discontent towards the government, no one ventured to such lengths as good little Father Caussin, who had the temerity, the impudence and the folly to say to the King—some months after the arrest of the said La Porte—that the discovery which had been made of letters, and of the secret intelligences which the Queen held in Flanders, in Spain and with the Duke of

Lorraine, astonished him beyond measure, as he could not understand how the Cardinal could find it in his heart to treat the Queen as he had done, seeing that he was once much attached to her Majesty, and it was known bore her yet great affection. This insinuation was dictated by the most black and damnable malice that could possess the mind of any monk whatever. In the first place, the Cardinal did not cause the arrest of La Porte, but the King did by his absolute authority; neither was it in the power of the said Cardinal to prevent the heinous nature of the Queen's letters from becoming apparent. Moreover, the said Caussin had the audacity to accuse M. le Cardinal of a lie, on the simple assertion of a Princess convicted of having made false oaths on several occasions and on this one especially, when she found herself compelled to acknowledge the falsity of several matters which she had sworn to be true upon the Holy Eucharist."[15] The Cardinal then proceeds to relate how the King, sickening at the deceit practised by his confessor, paid him a visit one morning at Ruel, to denounce these slanderings. His Majesty afterwards declared his resolve to dismiss Caussin from his important office of confessor, and was moreover desirous that the said Jesuit should be exiled from Paris. The friends of Caussin relate that the King, convinced by his remonstrances, commanded him to be at Ruel on the morning of the 9th of December, 1637, to propose the reforms in the administration needful "for our conscience and our welfare,

and we will support you." "I pictured to myself," says Caussin, "the Cardinal furious as a great dragon, and fit to tear my eyes out so soon as I should commence to represent in his presence the sins of his administration." [16] Caussin, it is asserted, duly presented himself at Ruel where the King also arrived. At the last moment according to Caussin the courage of Louis failed, and he dared not bring his minister face to face with his accuser. The reverend father therefore received a command to retire from Ruel back to his convent in Paris. The same evening the secretary of state, de Noyers, called upon the Provincial of the Order and delivered to him a *lettre de cachet* which directed Caussin to leave Paris on the following morning for Rennes, under the *surveillance* of an exempt of the guard, and forbidding him meantime to hold communication with any personages whatever. The prohibition was extended to "*les couvents de femmes*," evidently with a view to prevent Caussin from visiting La Sœur Angélique in the adjacent nunnery of the Visitandines. Caussin resigned himself to his fate with tolerable submission; his papers were seized and carried to the victorious Richelieu. Two months subsequently, Caussin, on reading an official statement in the Gazette on the appointment of his successor to the office of confessor to Louis XIII., which amongst other things declared "that le Père Caussin had been dismissed for his want of discretion, and for conduct so inconsiderate that the heads of his Order were surprised that he had

been so long tolerated at court, rather than aggrieved by his dismissal," was imprudent enough to indite a letter of absolute denial of the charges to de Noyers. This epistle fell of course into the hands of Richelieu, who summoned the Provincial Binet, and in great rage, after reading the letter aloud, insisted that Caussin should be sent on a missionary expedition to Quebec. Binet respectfully observed, "that a mission so perilous and therefore glorious, was considered the highest reward of saintly virtue, and therefore it was impossible so to honour a priest lying under the censure of his superiors." Caussin was eventually routed from his peaceful retreat in the old city of Rennes and confined to the inhospitable and rude district round Quimper, where he remained under *surveillance* until the death of the royal penitent whom he had risked so much to reform.[17] Mademoiselle de la Fayette, on her first interview with Louis, ventured to remonstrate, and to decry the tyrannous jealousies of the Cardinal. "What would you, Madame!" exclaimed the King, passionately. "God bestows upon every unfortunate some power of self-defence, my wife is barren and she hates me, my mother wishes to dethrone me, my brother desires to put my crown on his head, my chief nobles dislike me—they betray me and rebel against my power; but for M. le Cardinal therefore I perhaps should not long keep my throne!" Sœur Angélique however ventured to allude to the heavy taxation—to the alliance of Catholic France with heretic rebels—

to the oppression of Richelieu's secret police and to his ever-ready Bastille warrants. His Majesty listened awhile, then suddenly rose and departed without uttering a word. In the evening however he sent de Noyers to the convent to say " that he did not altogether disapprove the liberty which Sœur Angélique had taken, and that he would pay her another visit in the course of a few days."

Meantime the arm of St. Isidore arrived, and was exhibited in great pomp before the high altar of the church of Nôtre Dame. The Queen, attended by her ladies, received the precious relic, walking in procession from the Louvre to Nôtre Dame, where pontifical mass was said by the Archbishop of Paris. By command of the Cardinal, prayers were commanded in every church and chapel in the capital to obtain from God the blessing of royal progeny. Persons conversant with the daily life and habits of the royal pair however knew that alienation between their Majesties was never so complete and apparently insurmountable. The Queen inhabited the Louvre, the King seldom approached that palace except for state audiences and receptions, but passed his time in wandering between the châteaux of Madrid, Fontainebleau, Ruel and Chantilly. The apartments once occupied by Louis in the Louvre were actually without furniture. When their Majesties met it was observed that, beyond the profound bow which Louis made to his consort, or rather to her chair of state on entering or leaving the saloon, he never addressed his discourse to her, but appeared

exclusively occupied with Mademoiselle de Hautefort, who had again become the object of the King's dreary homage. When her companions congratulated de Hautefort on what they termed "the return to her of the sunshine of royal favour," she replied indifferently, "that she was glad only, on perceiving that her influence was reviving, in order to serve the Queen her mistress, and thereby to parry the cunning thrusts of M. le Cardinal." Predictions of the approaching birth of a Dauphin, nevertheless, were circulated by the hundred through every province of the realm; monks and nuns alike declared themselves inspired and forwarded oracles to the Cardinal-minister, to lay before their Majesties. People marvelled, and discussed the miraculous revelation, which after twenty-three years of suspense, and at a period apparently the least propitious for domestic felicity, and while evil tongues yet spoke flippantly of Anne's recent narrow escape from divorce, promised so halcyon an event. On the 3rd of November 1637, the Holy Virgin it was averred appeared to le Père Fiacre, an Augustinian monk of Paris, while in obedience to the edict he was making diligent intercession on her Majesty's behalf. The Holy Virgin assured the monk that Anne's prayers should be granted on condition that the Queen performed three *neuvaines* in her honour, one of which should be said in the church of Nôtre Dame de Grâce of Cottignac. To convince Father Fiacre that the vision was neither a dream nor an illusion, the Virgin

appeared to him as she was represented on the altar-piece of the church at Cottignac, attended by cherubs and surrounded by radiant effulgence. Fiacre instantly waited on the Cardinal and detailed his vision. Richelieu therefore introduced him to the Queen, who listened to his narrative with mingled trepidation and delight. Anne despatched the monk to the church of Cottignac to verify his vision by contemplating its famous picture, and commissioned him to offer rich gifts at the sacred shrine and to perform for her the *neuvaine* due as the condition of the miracle promised.[18] Another monk, le Père Vincent, on his return from a pilgrimage to Nôtre Dame de Savona, predicted the approaching birth of a Dauphin :

> Enfant, qui doit porter dessus ton front empreint
> Des mille dons du ciel le divin caractère,
> La vertu de François, et l'heur de Charles Quint,
> La clémence de Henry, la valeur de son Père.

In all the Franciscan convents of the realm ceaseless petitions were especially offered to obtain the much-coveted gift, the servants of Heaven made constant prayer and multiplied their acts of devotion, principally on the festivals of our Lord and his Holy Mother, on the feasts of St. Michael the Archangel, Standard-bearer of the Heavenly Hosts, on those of St. Denis, St. Martin, St. Remy, Ste. Anne, Ste. Geneviève, St. Louis and St. Germain.[19] Richelieu meantime exhorted the Queen to make overtures of reconciliation to her husband, who on his side was admonished by Mademoiselle de Hautefort to

accept these submissions, and to restore to her his conjugal regard. The new confessor, the Père Sirmond, spoke to Louis earnestly and pathetically on his systematic alienation from the wife united to him by the ministration of Holy Church, and prompted by the Cardinal, he discussed at length from the confessional the forlorn condition of the realm, which might perchance rejoice in the security to be conferred by the birth of an heir-apparent, if the King actuated by a sense of duty would no longer banish from his heart his lawful consort, the sister of the most potent monarch in Christendom.

Louis listened to these unwonted objurgations in irritable sullenness, his nerves were shaken with intermittent fever and his dejection deepened at the perverse independence of Marie de Hautefort, who insisted on the privilege of speaking freely in return for the burdensome confidences he imposed upon her. The birth of a Dauphin had become an indispensable condition of Richelieu's future political and personal grandeur. Monsieur hated the minister with the spite of a puny intellect, Madame his consort, and possibly the future queen, had vowed a deep vow of vengeance for the insults inflicted by Richelieu and for the quibbles respecting her marriage and her consequent penury and exile. Condé, first prince of the blood, and next in succession to Monsieur, owed the minister an equivalent for many a humiliation and rebuff. Madame la Princesse, Marguerite de Montmorency, cried for revenge for the blood of

her brother, the ill-starred and gallant Montmorency who perished on the scaffold at Toulouse. In the *entourage* of Gaston the King, Richelieu moreover saw Marie de' Medici, returned from her ignominious exile, wielding at will the sceptre of her incapable and frivolous son, fervid in her wrath and ready to execute the oath attributed to her: "to cause the head of M. le Cardinal to roll in the dust which had licked up the blood of that true knight and nobleman, Montmorency!" A Dauphin therefore was the only safeguard for the life, the liberty and the future power of the haughty Cardinal. The steadily declining health of the King foretold that at no distant period the throne would become vacant; a vista of power and glory absolutely dazzling unfolded before Richelieu during the consequent long minority, when all the functions of the crown might centre in the hands of a feeble woman as Regent of France—a Princess ignorant of politics, bound to her minister perhaps by the fetter of a terrible secret, and timid in the assertion of her prerogative as a queen, by the yoke of years of repression and seclusion. The King hated his brother and abhorred his sister-in-law, whose children he intended to disown as princes of the blood, but he was inspired, in common with the other princes of Europe, with chivalrous veneration for his wife's kindred, the dynasty of Charles Quint and for the power of the Catholic King. This feeling had saved Queen Anne from divorce. A son therefore would be welcomed it was presumed by King Louis, in

order to displace Monsieur his heir-presumptive, while respect for the august dignity of a Queen-Infanta must stifle the impertinent conjecture of the captious, even if profane doubts awoke in the mind of the princes interested in the purity of the succession. Through Father Carré, who still diligently performed his functions at court as confessor to the Queen's ladies and maidens and informer to the Cardinal, Sœur Angélique was enlisted to lecture Louis on his domestic delinquencies. The month of December, 1637, thus approached, the Queen making sojourn in the Louvre and being still fettered by the restrictions placed upon her intercourse with her friends and the male members of her household. Louis resided during this period chiefly at Versailles. One afternoon, *ennui* more than usually depressing the royal mind, his Majesty resolved to sleep at St. Maur where he had a hunting establishment, and on passing through Paris to refresh his spirit by a visit to the convent of the Faubourg St. Antoine. The conversation with La Sœur Angélique lasted four hours, and embraced every possible topic. Mademoiselle de la Fayette implored the King as usual to be reconciled to his consort, to refrain from giving undue prominence by the honour of his exclusive notice, however innocent, to any lady of the court, and finally she again exhorted him to restrain the arrogance of Richelieu, and to recall the Queen-mother and his late confessor, Caussin, from exile. Her words for the moment deeply moved the King and he rose to depart

lauding the sanctity of his monitress and half promising to conform to her counsel. During the conference however a great storm of wind and snow had arisen, evening was advancing apace, and Guitaut, captain of the guard, pronounced it alike inexpedient to proceed to St. Maur or to return to Versailles. The King, greatly provoked, declared his resolve to brave the storm and regain Versailles, as his apartments at the Louvre were not prepared and none of the officers of his household in Paris. "Sire," boldly retorted Guitaut, "while the Queen resides at the Louvre you cannot want either a supper or a lodging!" [20] The King replied in a vexed tone that he would wait awhile, for that probably the weather might change. The storm however increased in violence and a pouring rain set in. All chance therefore of a speedy change of weather vanished. Guitaut again pressed the King to take refuge in his Louvre. "The Queen sups and retires too late for our habits; we choose therefore rather to claim the hospitality of M. le Cardinal," replied Louis. After some further debate and delay, the King nevertheless, was induced to repair to the Louvre, where he arrived about ten o'clock. This decorous resolution has been ascribed to the politic counsels of Mademoiselle de la Fayette. Anne, previously apprised of the probable visit of her lord by her zealous friend Guitaut, received the King with smiles and welcome, while Mademoiselle de Hautefort indicated approval of his presence by the warmth of her greeting. The supper was laid

in Anne's cabinet, and was served by her Majesty's maids. The evening passed merrily, for the Queen put forth those enchanting graces of manner usually reserved for strangers, and for which she was renowned. The depression of the King was at length dissipated, the smiles of the Queen's syrens banished irritating reminiscences, Anne's coquettish enticements prevailed—and the King, won to temporary oblivion of his wrongs, accepted her hospitality for the night.[21] Louis departed on the following morning for Versailles, but invited the Queen to pay him an early visit there. Thus it was said was accomplished in the year 1637, through the combined influences of the elements and the politic counsels of the friends of France, that conjugal reunion which had been broken by the indiscretions—to use no harsher term—committed by Anne of Austria during the embassy in 1626 of the Duke of Buckingham, which unhappy impressions were confirmed on the King's mind, never more to be effaced, however he might dissemble, by the revelations which came to light during the trial at Nantes of the Prince de Chalais.

Madame de Chevreuse meantime had been received in state by Philip IV. and his Queen, who sent royal coaches, drawn by six mules, and a military escort, to bring her into Madrid. Her charms and vivacity captivated the King and Olivarez, who experienced besides malicious pleasure in affording so vivid a welcome to a foe of Richelieu—a lady who had foiled him with his

own weapons. The Queen, Isabel of France, loved to discourse with Madame de Chevreuse on the glories of that court which she had quitted when too young to appreciate its fascinations, also she held conferences to modify the stiff farthingale and other antiquated specimens of Spanish attire, so as to assimilate the toilette of her ladies with the rich robes and flowing hair of the Duchess. Marie notwithstanding her successes in Madrid, pined for home and for communication with France, which so long as she resided in the Spanish capital was closed to her. The Duc de Chevreuse feared to compromise himself by writing to his wife, while Boispille, their confidential agent, declined to answer letters sent from Spain. The Duchess therefore, much to the regret of King Philip, quitted Madrid [22] at the commencement of the year 1638, and journeyed to London, where she was cordially welcomed by Queen Henrietta. Madame de Chevreuse was, however, suffering from pecuniary difficulties, her gorgeous style and munificence agreed badly with sequestrated revenues, while she possessed but two private sources likely to supply her wants. The Queen owed her a large sum of money—and there remained still to her the resource of pledging her superb jewels which she had confided to her friend the Prince de Marsillac. Madame de Chevreuse therefore wrote to Anne to beseech her to repay this debt, she asked her Majesty to refund to Richelieu the 10,000 livres he had "insolently" sent her, and remit the remainder to

London through the ambassador. "I have desired my messenger, Madame, to inform you of a strait which I can neither forget nor conceal from you. The condition in which I find myself prevents me from paying this debt, while your position enables you easily to acquit it. I beseech you therefore to do so, and moreover to make known your indignation. If you could repay to me the remainder of the debt, believe that it would be a very acceptable relief to her who is absolutely yours, the which I know that you think. Believe, therefore, that you could not render me a more signal service." [23] Whether Anne found it so easy to acquit the debt we have no record, but it does not seem that she interested herself in the many petitions addressed by the fugitive to Richelieu for permission to return home, or to extricate her revenues from the lavish profligacies of M. de Chevreuse. Secure of the mistress, the Cardinal could now fearlessly assume a high patronising tone and easy jocularity as he discussed the "high-flown romance" of Madame la Duchesse, and gibed at the influence which she supposed that she exercised over "that mad enthusiast," M. de Lorraine. When M. le Duc de Chevreuse ventured to intercede, the Cardinal blandly condoled with him on the trials he had endured from the capricious frenzies of his consort; when M. le Duc de Montbazon, father of the Duchess, mediated, Richelieu, by a witty turn in the discourse poured the merriment of the bystanders like a flood on his unlucky petitioner, who though a very great

lord, yet from his simplicity and an unfortunate habit of saying the very reverse of that which he desired to express, was the butt of the court.[24] To Boispille and to the Abbé Dorat, Richelieu condescended to be more explicit. He presently intrusted to their care for delivery to the Duchess a declaration signed by the King, in which Louis granted his pardon for the late misdemeanours of Marie de Rohan Chevreuse, in her traitorous endeavours to induce M. de Lorraine to refuse reconciliation with France. His Majesty therein interdicted the Duchess from seeing the Queen, from corresponding with any person out of the realm, and restricted her residence to the château de Dampierre. As for *la petite promenade* that Madame la Duchesse had thought proper to make in Spain, the King consented to draw over it the veil of his royal oblivion. When this document was presented to the Duchess she absolutely refused the offered grace. "I will not be pardoned for a fault which I have not committed, neither will I be shut up at Dampierre; all that I promise is not to approach within five leagues of the court!" Dorat returned to Paris with this answer. Richelieu however was resolved sooner or later to wring a confession of guilt from the Duchess, as he had compelled her royal mistress to admit her misdeeds. He received Dorat's communication with ironical smiles, and commissioned him to demand from Madame de Chevreuse an avowal, at least, that she had joined Anne of Austria in an intrigue

against his power and fame. Moreover, that she had been a consenting party to the insulting term of ignominy applied to him by the ex-keeper of the seals, Châteauneuf. The spoiled, petulant beauty again returned a passionate denial, and also addressed a letter of reproach to M. le Cardinal. Richelieu avoided sending a direct answer to the Duchess, but wrote a letter to Dorat to be shown to and perused by her. Always gallant and piquant when addressing a beautiful lady, the apparent *bonhomie* and indulgent reprimands of the Cardinal must have been bitter to the Duchess, who beheld kings at her footstool. "The letter which I have received from Madame de Chevreuse," wrote the Cardinal to Dorat, "is throughout a bitter upbraiding that I do not serve her as she desires, rather than a gracious appreciation of the things which I have lately done to satisfy her. The civility which is due to a lady prevents me from attempting a reply, as thereby I should be certain to displease her; but her advantage, nevertheless, induces me to address you, in order that you may represent to her certain matters in which she is much interested. She is displeased that I desire to extort from her some acknowledgment of her secret dealings with foreign princes. It is difficult to cure a sick man who denies that he has anything amiss. Physicians, while they expect to be apprised of the ailments of their patients, conceal them from strangers. You know better than most people that, concerning Madame de Chevreuse, I have

acted with the secresy of a physician and a confessor. I do not even scruple to avow that since the affair of M. de Châteauneuf, many damning proofs of her guilt have fallen into my hands. Madame de Chevreuse cannot expect that I should shock the feelings of the King by declaring her innocent, when his Majesty has before him proofs to the contrary. I, nevertheless, herewith send her a pardon, *pur et simple*, such as she demands. Madame de Chevreuse however will probably deem it strange and irksome that she is not permitted to roam all over France at her pleasure, such places excepted as may be honoured by the presence of the King and the Queen. Before she undertook her late excursion into Spain Tours was her residence. If since that time she has done any thing or deed worthy of commendation or of greater consideration, I confess my error in not granting her the perfect liberty which she demands. If her actions however have not been immaculate, she is unreasonable and errs against the rules of sound politics in expecting an augmentation of grace in proportion to the multiplication of her misdemeanours. Time and good conduct may bring her the realisation of all her wishes; my power is not potent enough, neither is my will so infirm as to decree a liberty prejudicial to the realm, and by its temptations unbecoming to Madame de Chevreuse. You will nevertheless assure her that in every true interest I will help her with cordial affection, I will even bow admiringly before a mind such as

hers, when not swayed by selfish passion or by unlawful prejudice."[25] The Duchess, however, relieved from her most pressing pecuniary necessities, laughed at the objurgations of her wary foe, danced with Queen Henrietta at Whitehall, flirted with King Charles, despatched exquisite little caricatures of Richelieu to Madrid for the edification of her friends, prayed publicly for Queen Marie de' Medici and for all the unfortunate exiles driven from France, and scandalised the ambassador of King Louis—until electrified by the astonishing news that the pregnancy of Queen Anne of Austria was officially proclaimed throughout France.

The calamities of the war and the alleged tyranny of the able minister were forgotten in the delirious joy occasioned by this event. In France no one stayed to cavil or to criticise, in the overwhelming thankfulness felt that an heir to the sceptre of Henri Quatre might be born, and the realm delivered from probable civil war on the death of Louis XIII., or from the unsteady rule of Monsieur. Processions perambulated the streets. Te Deums were chaunted in Nôtre Dame and in all the principal cathedrals, alms never before so inundated the kingdom, and jubilee resounded even amid the frightful solitudes of La Grande Chartreuse of Grenoble. The countenance of Louis Treize however did not grow more cheerful, and though he walked in the chief processions yet their object might have been penitential rather than jubilant to judge by the

gloom-stricken face and careless garb of the monarch upon whom such a blessing had been bestowed. In Rome masses were celebrated for the Queen's safe delivery and for the birth of a male heir to Bourbon. In Madrid a court procession to the chapel of the Virgen de Atocha, testified the participation of their Catholic Majesties in an event so important to the Infanta Queen of France. By the advice of Richelieu and of Le Père Joseph, Louis was induced to make a solemn dedication of himself and his realm to the Virgin Mary, through whose direct interposition the prayers of all France had been miraculously answered. This consecration was performed with great pomp during the month of February 1638, in the church of Nôtre Dame.[26] Abroad, where public sentiments were not fettered by interest, respect or by the hand of arbitrary authority, speculations the most derogatory to the majesty of the crown and personally mortifying to the King prevailed. Lampoons, pamphlets,[27] paragraphs in the public gazettes, hinted that the devotion of M. le Cardinal de Richelieu for the future prosperity of France had comprehended and embraced every function and privilege of majesty. Other pamphleteers, more audacious, feigned to bewail the future calamities of Europe when a crowned son of Richelieu should wield the destiny of the nation. In Holland especially such libels abounded. In England they fluttered for an interval but were finally put down by the high hand of authority. The vanquished Huguenots

of France ventured on a feeble lampoon in verse, which beginning with the Dukes of Orleans and Buckingham enumerated the alleged *égarements* of her very Christian Majesty. Most of these squibs and satires penetrated into the interior of the Louvre and became fiery darts in the bosom of the suspicious Louis, who persuaded that he had been before betrayed by the Queen was only too accessible to sinister impressions. Anne herself was elated and triumphant; from being considered a personage secondary in importance almost to the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, she found the state saloons of the Louvre crowded when she appeared in public, for the King had again firmly refused to annul his ordinance of the year 1626, which interdicted gentlemen from paying their respects in private to the Queen.

Louis continued to find some solace in the society of Mademoiselle de Hautefort and in conning over military details. The smiles of the latter during the month of June were however eclipsed by the angry discussions which arose on the appointment of the household of the expected *enfant de France.* Mademoiselle de Hautefort asked that her grandmother, Madame de la Flotte, should be nominated to the high office of *gouvernante* to the expected Dauphin, or Madame Royale. The Cardinal however had other views; the cradle even of the heir of France must not be rocked by an enemy—Madame de la Flotte was garrulous and swayed by her grand-daughter who had shown herself inimical. Madame de

Lansac, a near relation of Richelieu's and daughter of M. le Marquis de Souvré, ex-preceptor to Louis XIII., was selected for the coveted honour, while Mademoiselle de Hautefort was propitiated by her own nomination as *survivante* to the office of *dame d'atours*, then filled by Madame de la Flotte. This favour conferred upon Marie de Hautefort the title of Madame, and it was a distinction which had never before been bestowed on an unmarried lady. The Queen passively submitted to the nomination of Madame de Lansac, and when the latter presented herself to tender homage received her with great affability. Madame de Lansac had received ample instruction from the rapid pen of Richelieu how she was to conduct herself and what she was to say on her first audience, in her new capacity, with the Queen. All Richelieu's agents moved and spoke and thought at his dictation, his forethought embraced every possible casualty, and even when burdened with the weight and responsibility of a war, he could prescribe the trifling etiquettes of a court audience. "Madame de Lansac is hereby informed," wrote Richelieu, "that the King has written to the Queen to inform her Majesty that he has chosen her to fill the office of governess to the child which it may please God to give him. When her Majesty shall be pleased to send for Madame de Lansac and shall ask the said lady whether she is aware of the honour about to be conferred upon her, the said lady shall candidly answer—that rumour having placed

her on the list of the personages eligible for the honour, and being apprised that the King had seen her name without displeasure, her reluctance to be thought importunate and presuming had prevented her thenceforth from paying frequent court as usual to her Majesty." [28] Madame de Lansac was then instructed to whisper her grief that it had been reported such nomination might be unwelcome to her Majesty. She was then directed, upon leaving the royal apartments, to visit Mesdames de Hautefort and de la Flotte, " so that nothing mischievous to Madame de Lansac may be insinuated by these persons to her Majesty." Anne of Austria played her part to perfection, declared herself perfectly satisfied with the appointment and overwhelmed the future *gouvernante* with flattering indications of approval. Madame de Lansac however was not deceived by these demonstrations, she was a shrewd, self-possessed woman of a certain age, proud of being a Souvré and the intimate friend of Madame d'Aiguillon, and devoted to the glory and to the prosperity of her kinsman the great Cardinal. She was aware that Richelieu distrusted Madame de Senécé and Mesdames de Hautefort and de la Flotte, and that she was placed at the Louvre to keep the Queen under *surveillance*—not indeed rudely to interfere with Anne's pleasures and pastimes, or to force advice upon her Majesty, but simply to keep the Cardinal *au courant* with the Queen's domestic avocations and intimates.

King Louis meanwhile wandered disconsolately from St. Germain to Versailles and back again, in despair at the ireful and unforgiving mood of Madame de Hautefort who declined his confidences and refused either to look at him or to speak to him. Richelieu had taken his departure for the seat of war in Picardy, and to Amiens were the letters addressed which described to his Eminence the "doings" at St. Germain. Le Père Carré, Chavigny and Bullion wrote daily and sometimes thrice a day, alarming despatches relative to the royal despair and the obduracy of Madame de Hautefort. These despatches must have been heavy burdens on the unfortunate ministers, they are dated at all hours—some at midnight, others were written at three o'clock in the morning. Chavigny, whose amusing pen lightens the details of many a dreary despatch, seems to enter into the ludicrous position; in various letters, all following closely, he gives the Cardinal the following scraps of information: "Monseigneur will have heard of the indisposition of the King by the letters of M. Bouvard (the royal physician in ordinary). His Majesty is a prey to incredible indecision, he is ready to fall on his knees before *sa dame* and pray for pardon. This evening in the circle there was little conversation. When we were alone, the King after a long argument on the subject of de Hautefort of which I had the best, exclaimed, 'Lost! lost! I am impatient to see her. I love her better than all the rest of the

world combined. I will kneel to ask her pardon!'" "The King during the last two days has been at Versailles on account of the continuation of his quarrel with Madame de Hautefort. The said lady now declares a fresh cause of offence, inasmuch as the Duke de Montbazon was indiscreet enough to say to her in the presence of the King, 'that the reason she hated Madame de Lansac was that the latter lady would not permit her son to marry the said de Hautefort'—the which disobliging remark his Majesty confirmed. . . . This afternoon his Majesty wrote to your Eminence to state that the displeasure and dissatisfaction which he experienced from de Hautefort would compel him to send her from court. His Majesty however countermanded the courier, being determined to make a last effort this evening to reconcile himself with the said lady."[29] "The King did me the honour to assure me," writes Bullion, "of the affection and confidence which he felt towards your Eminence. His Majesty said, 'Madame de Hautefort has observed to me that M. le Cardinal and myself are great friends, nevertheless, mark my words, *Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo;* for neither M. le Cardinal, nor myself, nor my good servants find favour at St.-Germain.' I said that I was aware that efforts were made to unite the interests of the Queen and Madame de Hautefort, and that by the mediation of a young lady whose name I could not remember. 'Ah!' said the King, 'you mean Beaumont, but she gives de

Hautefort bad advice. At St. Germain they do nothing but quarrel, so much so that I am weary and long to be with M. le Cardinal. La Hautefort does nothing but sting Madame de Lansac. Upon the matter of the Queen's letters, de Hautefort told me to-day that Madame de la Flotte did not now deem it a part of her duty to inform me when her Majesty writes and to whom!' Upon which I remarked, 'that his Majesty ought to thank God for the wise counsels of your Eminence in advising the nomination of Madame de Lansac, as evidently, on the dicta of Madame de Hautefort, he cannot place confidence in the zeal of La Flotte.'" [30] Such were the puerile despatches which harassed Richelieu at the seat of war. His Eminence wrote three long letters of condolence to the King; he also addressed Madame de Hautefort, and represented the responsibility which she incurred by agitating the mind of the King as yet only imperfectly recovered from fever. Perhaps the ferment frightened de Hautefort, or the entreaties of Anne of Austria were united with those of the ladies of her household in praying Marie to receive the King again into favour. A smile from the syren, which beamed the more brilliantly after information had been conveyed to her by Chavigny that the King had despatched a missive to Sœur Angélique, and the reconciliation was achieved, Louis promising to Madame de la Flotte the *survivance* of the charge of lady of honour, then filled by Madame de Senécé. Richelieu indicates his joy at the

restoration of concord in the following pithy sentences: "I am enchanted to learn that harmony again subsists between your Majesty's dignity and your partiality; the latter, in my opinion, will ever be innocent and pure. I feel extreme gladness that the King now finds contentment in his innocent recreations, and I pray God with all my heart that such may long time endure!" [31]

The great event of the *accouchement* of the Queen was now approaching. On the 1st of September 1638, the Princesses and ladies nominated to be present on the occasion arrived at St.-Germain-en-Laye. Monsieur also appeared, captious as usual, and greatly incensed that his wife had not received a special summons, that the recognition of her claims might be made on so supreme an occasion. Whilst the Duke of Lorraine her brother was at war with his liege the King of France, Marguerite deemed it prudent not to venture within the grip of her enemy the Cardinal-minister, unless specially protected by a safe-conduct which Louis had indignantly refused to grant. The Queen felt the first symptoms of labour at two o'clock on the morning of Sunday, September 5th. At four o'clock, Anne sent for her almoner the Bishop of Lisieux and commanded a mass to be celebrated in her room, there being present only the midwife Madame Peronne and Mademoiselle Filandre chief tire-woman, the indisposition of her Majesty being kept secret by her special command. At five

o'clock, Filandre caused the King to be apprized of the approaching event.[32] Louis arose and commanded the presence of all official personages, and that his medical staff should repair to the large saloon. In twenty minutes the inmates of the château were wild with excitement and expectation. The guard was posted and every avenue leading to the palace kept by a strong piquet of soldiers. The gentlemen of the King's Swiss guard, bearing their battle-axes and halberts, ranged themselves in the vestibule of the palace. At six o'clock, the ladies whose right it was to be present in the Queen's chamber entered and took their seats on chairs covered with cloth of gold. These were the Princess de Condé, the Countess de Soissons, the Duchess de Vendôme, the mistress of the robes Duchess de Montmorency, the Duchess de Bouillon, the Marquise de Lansac, Mesdames de Senécé and de la Flotte. In a saloon adjoining, were Séguier the chancellor, Chavigny, Bullion, Mesdames de Guémené, de la Trimouille, de Villauxclers, de Hautefort, de Liancour, and de Mortemar. The prelates were the Archbishop of Bourges, the Bishops of Lisieux,[33] Chalons and Meaux.[34] In another lofty chamber several hundred personages of minor condition waited the event. At nine o'clock a sensation of terror pervaded the assemblage, the Queen was reported to be in extreme peril and a hasty message from Dame Peronne summoned the surgeons in waiting. Séguier, also, went to inform the King of this crisis, who

does not appear to have paid any previous visit to his consort. Louis then entered the apartment pallid and downcast; he approached the temporary altar, and kneeling, prayed aloud that God would grant a safe and speedy delivery to the Queen his consort. Masses were then commenced by the Bishop of Lisieux in the royal chamber; while the Bishop of Meaux recited the Divine Office in the saloon, which was fervently joined in by all present.[35]

The King, meantime, discoursed with Madame de Hautefort who was weeping bitterly. At half-past ten, Madame de Senécé approached with a message from the Queen to her royal consort. Anne sent her greeting, an assurance of her courage and an entreaty that the King would retire to partake of his accustomed collation at eleven o'clock. Louis consequently retired after a brief conference with Bouvard. He had scarcely seated himself at table when the sound of a great commotion was heard, and several messengers rushed unceremoniously into the royal presence with the news that the Queen's delivery was near. Shouts of exultation greeted the King as he again approached the chamber. "C'est un Dauphin! C'est un Dauphin!" Madame de Senécé met the King at the door of the chamber and placed in his arms the new-born babe, who gave token of vigour by shrill cries.[36] The company simultaneously gave thanks on their knees to Providence for so inestimable a gift.

The Queen meantime, overwhelmed with the

tumult and the heat, fainted away; but presently reviving, she clasped her hands and returned thanks to God for her preservation, and for the birth of a Dauphin, who was brought to her by the Dame de Giraudière, his wet-nurse. As yet the King had never approached the couch of his consort. Anne had now given a Dauphin to France; Louis heard himself hailed as happy father and fortunate prince! Etiquette therefore required that congratulations between the royal pair shoud be exchanged in the presence of the august personages around. "The King," relates Madame de Motteville, "was obliged to be urged to approach the Queen his consort and to embrace her after her *accouchement.*" The child, by the command of the King, was immediately baptized by the Bishop of Meaux, and received the name of Louis.

During the hour of his wife's greatest peril the King stood at a window talking to Madame de Hautefort. This discourse is reported by the author of the "Life of Madame de Hautefort," lately published for the first time by M. Cousin. The author who describes herself as the intimate friend, and one of the last earthly companions of Marie de Hautefort, vouches for the perfect accuracy of her narrative. A passage so strange and painful requires almost the confirmation of more than one narrator; nevertheless the conduct of the King throughout the hours preceding the birth of Louis XIV., and the indifference he afterwards manifested towards the Queen, give

an aspect of truth to the statement, which must prevent it from being altogether rejected as apocryphal. "The King, seeing Madame de Hautefort standing near a window, approached her. Perceiving that she was weeping, the King in a whisper bade her not afflict herself so greatly as she had no reason to do so. Madame de Hautefort, surprised to hear such a speech at a moment so critical, replied angrily 'that she wondered at the unfeeling observation of his Majesty, considering the dangerous condition of the Queen.' The King, with a cheerful manner, said 'I shall be pleased enough if they save the child—it is quite enough. You, Madame, I think, would find no reason to regret the loss of the mother!' Madame de Hautefort thereupon cast down her eyes, and showed plainly to the King that she had no pleasure in such discourse. The Queen passed a bad night. His Majesty also never slept nor retired to bed, but occupied himself with La Chesnaie, one of his principal valets de chambre, in examining a History of France, to find a precedent for the marriage of a King of France with a subject."

At mid-day, September 5th, Louis proceeded in state to the chapel of the castle, escorted by a hundred gentlemen-at-arms, to be present at the Te Deum chaunted for the auspicious birth of a Dauphin. Pontifical mass was next celebrated, during which Louis made rich offerings. The King then returned to the Queen's chamber, to be present while M. le Dauphin was escorted in the

arms of his nurse to his own apartments, which were hung with white silk damask, and where he was received by his *gouvernante*, Madame la Marquise de Lansac. Louis then held a council, at which missives were written and despatched to the potentates of Europe and to the municipal authorities of the realm. In Paris the news was already known; the cannon of the Bastille and of the Arsenal thundered through the streets, and the bells of Notre Dame and of the Sainte-Chapelle rang merry carrillons. On the quay in front of the Hôtel de Ville tables were spread, at which, for three days, every comer was welcome to drain a goblet or to eat a morsel in honour of M. le Dauphin. At night the capital was a blaze of illuminations, such as had never before been witnessed; fireworks of wonderful conceits and brilliancy being also displayed. The façades of the Louvre, the Tuileries, the Palais Cardinal, the Hôtel d'Aiguillon, the Spanish and English Embassies, shone with resplendent light. The festivities lasted for several days with undiminished splendour; never before had the birth of an heir-apparent been celebrated with rejoicings so magnificent. In the provinces the pageants almost surpassed in splendour and variety those of the capital. The great religious houses of the realm proclaimed largesse and gave bounteous alms and prayers. "*Vive le Prince Dauphin, l'attente de la France!*" was the greeting often heard to be exchanged between individuals in the first fervour of their enthusiasm.[37]

The Cardinal de Richelieu meantime was at St. Quentin, directing the progress of the campaign in Picardy, but more especially the operations of the siege of St. Omer, which, under the Marshal de Châtillon, were not attended with desirable success. "The great Armand, Cardinal Duc de Richelieu, was at St. Quentin when he received the very happy and very agreeable news of the birth of a Dauphin, by several couriers despatched by their Majesties," relates Hilarion de Coste. "His Eminence immediately repaired to the large church to chant the Canticle of Thanksgiving, and to give in person benediction to the people who flocked in numbers to the service. There were present Charles de Valois, Duc d'Angoulême, and all the lords in the army of Picardy, M. de Noyers, M. de Choisy and many other privy councillors. His Eminence ordered a brilliant display of fireworks and a salute of all the artillery in the place." Richelieu, on the following day, entertained the officers at a superb banquet, and commanded the poor in St. Quentin and Amiens to be entertained at his expense. His letter of congratulation to King Louis was terse but expressive: "Sire,—The birth of Monsieur le Dauphin has ravished me with joy. I pray that as he is Theodosius, the gift which God has given you, so may he be, by possession of the great and heroic qualities which adorned the Emperors of that name. I earnestly pray that God may overwhelm your Majesty with benedictions as many and fervent as he prays who is for ever your Majesty's devoted

subject and servant." [38] To the Queen, Richelieu wrote: "Madame,—Great joy is not loquacious; therefore I know not how to express to your Majesty that which I feel for her happy *accouchement*, and for the birth of Monseigneur le Dauphin. I believe and trust that God has given him to Christendom to appease and to allay troubles, and to confer upon us the benediction of peace. I vow to Monseigneur from his birth and henceforth the devotion and zeal which has always inspired me to serve the King and your Majesty. I am, your Majesty's eternal and devoted subject, —The Cardinal Duc de Richelieu." [39]

The recovery of the Queen was rapid, and on the 26th of September the ceremony of "churching" was performed in Anne's audience chamber by the Bishop of Lisieux and other prelates. The King had already quitted St. Germain to solace himself with the pleasures of the chase at Chantilly. Anne, now a proud and happy mother, sat under her canopy of state, Madame de Lansac standing on her right holding the young prince. While the prayers of the Offertory were being recited, the Queen arose, and taking the babe in her arms, traversed alone the vast apartment, and kneeling at the altar, "made an oblation of herself and her new-born son to the King of Kings, and afterwards devoutly received the Holy Eucharist." The Abbot of St. Denis and the Bishop of Brieux held the stole over the head of M. le Dauphin during the ceremonies at the altar. When the Bishop of Lisieux began to read the Gospel,

the royal child fixed his eyes earnestly on the prelate. It was considered, likewise, as remarkable that in reciting certain words of the Gospel, when the bishop took the hand of the little Prince, he squeezed the prelate's finger with wonderful strength and vigour.[40] On the 27th of September Richelieu arrived in Paris, and on Wednesday, the 29th, he repaired to St. Germain to visit the Queen and her son. Louis met the Cardinal at St. Germain and conducted him to the presence of her Majesty. "It would be impossible," writes a famous chronicler, "to describe the transports of his Eminence and with what joy he was possessed on beholding that admirable child in the arms of his mother—a babe which had been the object of his ardent aspirations and whose birth fulfilled his fondest desires. His said Eminence then took leave and departed for Ruel."[41]

As soon as Anne was able to go abroad, the King, Queen and court walked in procession from the Louvre to Notre Dame. The shrines of St. Landry, St. Denis, St. Eleutherius and St. Geneviève were carried in the procession, which consisted of the court, the ecclesiastics and monks and nuns of the capital, the trade guilds and the municipality of Paris. The glorious strains of Te Deum Laudamus echoed along the vaulted aisles of the grand old cathedral, while the people on the line of procession rapturously cheered the royal pair. Cardinal de Richelieu and the Papal Nuncio, *in pontificalibus*, received their Majesties at the porch of the church and preceded them to their

chairs of state. The congratulations of his Holiness being especially cordial, Louis wrote thus to the Pope on the birth of his son:

LOUIS XIII. TO POPE URBAN VIII.

"VERY HOLY FATHER,—As it has pleased Almighty God always to give us grace to overcome tribulations contrary to the peace of our realm, we ever maintained a good hope that He would at length confer upon our royal consort and ourself the one remaining blessing so ardently desired by our subjects. God has at length granted us a son which the Queen has brought forth safely. As this child has been given to us many years after our marriage, we regard his birth as a special benediction from God, bestowed upon us and upon the Queen, and whilst we return thanks, and while our subjects throng the churches for the same object we have thought good thus to address your Holiness.

"Your devoted son,

"LOUIS." [42]

The Pope deputed Cardinal Sforza to proceed to France on a special mission of congratulation, and to present to the royal child the splendid robes, cradle, linen, cushions and hangings, blessed by the pontifical hand—the customary offering made by the Popes on the birth of the heir of the Eldest Son of the Church.[43]

When rejoicing ceased for the birth of M. le Dauphin, and excitement was allayed, people fell again into their old train of speculation. Monsieur

quitted St. Germain declaring himself highly dissatisfied and highly perplexed, while his adherents openly counselled him to take up arms to proclaim the illegitimacy of the so-called Dauphin and to assert his own rights. In Paris itself a pamphlet of the most scandalous and odious nature [44] appeared, which was eagerly circulated. A story was likewise whispered, proceeding, it was rumoured, from the high authority of a very virtuous lady of the palace, that the Queen had given birth to twin sons, the last born of whom had immediately and mysteriously disappeared. The friends of Monsieur asserted that Chavigny, the Cardinal's second self, had remained during the Queen's labour, against all precedent, in the antechamber of her oratory, which opened close to the *ruelle* of the royal bed; that much mystery had been observed, and that the King had not been present when the child called "the Dauphin" was born—all of which were allegations proved to be true. Other writings were published, alleging that for certain reasons well known to many the so-called Dauphin could not be the son of Louis XIII.[45] No confirmation of these suspicions however could be extracted from the placid mien of the Cardinal or from the extreme veneration which he displayed towards the royal babe, nevertheless it was deemed strange that his Eminence should have been absent at St. Quentin at a moment so important to the realm as the birth of the future king. The antecedent history of the Queen unfortunately gave probability to these

suspicions. The events of the year 1637, though arising altogether from her own indiscretions, were perilous, and the danger greater than she had ever previously incurred. The King was ready to visit her offences with the utmost possible retribution, being no longer deterred by the fear of a declaration of war with Spain, as hostilities with that realm were then absolutely pending. The dreadful indispositions which, every six months, menaced the life of Louis XIII., made Richelieu dread a speedy fall from power, the confiscation of his vast wealth and probable exile from the realm. It was said, and with what truth may never now be known, that Anne and her old enemy Richelieu, apprehending persecution and degradation on the accession of the Duke of Orleans, combined, in order to maintain their power and influence; that the mind of the Queen was hard and determined, and that her detestation of Louis XIII. was such that no crime against him would deter her from following her own interests. The silence of Marie de' Medici was also looked upon as ominous, for the Queen-mother it was averred, would on so joyful an occasion have given some signal mark of sympathy with the nation. King Louis XIII., nevertheless, did not disown his Dauphin nor display any doubt respecting his legitimate birth. It might be that he shrank from a contest with the Queen, supported by the power of the Spanish monarchy, by Richelieu and by the wishes and wants of the nation.

In after times, when in the days of the Fronde Paris rose against the Regent and her minister Mazarin, the conduct of Queen Anne had been such, that many, who had previously disbelieved the rumours connected with the birth of Louis XIV., avowed their conviction that such surmises probably had not arisen without foundation.

As soon as the Queen removed to the Louvre a fresh surprise awaited the public by the dismissal of all her chief ladies—a measure which did not tend to allay the impertinent conjectures current. Madame de Senécé had never become cordially reconciled to Richelieu after the profession of her niece la Fayette; she moreover dared to speak and act independently of the minister. The Marquise was a lady of the highest rank, and possibly Richelieu deemed it indispensable to appoint to so confidential a post a personage of less exalted birth, and devoted to his will. Whether the Queen privately gave her assent to this measure does not appear—probably she did; outwardly however she evinced dissatisfaction and even sorrow and made angry comments when the dismissal of her old friend was notified to her by the following brief note brought by Chavigny, written and signed by the King.

"To the Queen.

"These three words are to inform you that I have resolved, for certain considerations as important to you as to myself, to dismiss Madame de Senécé, as the Sieur de Chavigny will more

Photo Braun & Cie

Louis XIII

From a painting by Vouet in the Louvre

amply explain and in whose words you will place confidence." [46]

As the Queen was accustomed to receive such communications in a mutinous spirit, which she could not at once discard, Richelieu drew up a summary of the replies advisable for the King to adopt in answer to his consort's expected expostulations. "When her Majesty shall arrive at St. Germain, his Majesty may, if he so pleases, greet her with the words: 'I made known to your Majesty that when Madame de Senécé shall have obeyed me, I will listen willingly to anything you may have to allege on her behalf. If she has really departed from Paris on her way home, you may speak, but Madame, before argument, I insist upon obedience.' Then if the Queen persists in pursuing the discourse, it will be advisable for your Majesty to add: 'You are aware of the many impertinences of which Madame de Senécé has been guilty, I have seen you smile at them a hundred times. You may say that people are not dismissed because they sometimes make impudent speeches. I answer that I have not banished Madame de Senécé for this cause only. You also know the kind of spirit which she harbours towards him who has the conduct of my affairs. Upon this subject you probably know more than myself, but I also know facts which are concealed from you. I know the persons whom she employs to anger me when I am out of temper. I have knowledge of the warnings which she has given

against all truth, to certain persons, that I intended to arrest them. There are many other matters, and I appeal to you, Madame, whether I should be well advised to keep such a person at my court ? ' " [47]

Such was the objurgation which Richelieu prepared and forwarded to his royal master. The helplessness of Louis XIII. is pitiable. Whether Louis used the words thus put into his mouth is doubtful, for the Queen took the resignation of Madame de Senécé with marvellous tranquillity, appearing occupied solely with M. le Dauphin whom she drove out daily in her coach.[48]

The Countess de Brassac received the office vacated by Madame de Senécé : she was a Ste. Maure,[49] and aunt of the Marquis de Montausier. Her husband had once professed the Huguenot faith, and had served the cause as governor of St. Jean d'Angely, but like many other officers, on the fall of La Rochelle, he had conformed to the orthodox faith, and through the patronage of Père Joseph, received the splendid reward of the government of the provinces of Saintonge and Angoumois. " Madame de Brassac," says Tallemant, " was a very gentle and modest person, who understood Latin and amused herself with theology and mathematics. She is said to have understood Euclid. Her chief delight was dreamy meditation. When she was appointed as lady of honour, she told the Cardinal that she preferred a retired life, and that it would be easy for him to find another lady whom the office would

better suit, moreover that she could not pretend to offer him the services with the Queen that his Eminence had a right to expect. Nevertheless, she behaved so well that she pleased both the Queen and the Cardinal, although the Gospel tells us that we cannot serve two masters. The Queen praised her to everybody, which is not faint eulogy." M. de Brassac received at the same time the office of steward of the Queen's household, in the room of M. Sanguin. The Bishop of Limoges was dismissed from his office of almoner to the Queen, which was bestowed on the Bishop of Lisieux. Many of the Queen's maids, Mesdemoiselles de Beaumont, d'Aiches and de Polignac were dismissed; other ladies were also doomed by the Cardinal, amongst whom were Madame de Hautefort and her grandmother, Madame de la Flotte—for to rid the court of these personages Richelieu now discovered a way.

At this period, the beginning of the year 1639, the Cardinal stood high in the good graces of their Majesties. The cabal of the Queen and her late *confidentes* looked on with amazement at the *entente* evidently ratified between their royal mistress and her late enemy. "The Queen receives M. le Cardinal with every demonstration of *bienveillant* friendship." Another writer, in a letter to the exiled Bishop of Limoges, relates: "The loves of the King do not go better than usual. On the contrary, from bad to worse, as it seems. It is rumoured that we shall soon see further changes." The secret of the discord alluded to between

Madame de Hautefort and the King was, that after their former quarrel, Louis had promised Madame de la Flotte, *dame d'autors*, the place of lady of honour whenever such became vacant by the resignation of the Marquise de Senécé. The office having fallen at the disposal of the crown, Marie de Hautefort insisted that Madame de la Flotte should be installed in the coveted post, which would have given Mademoiselle de Hautefort increased rank at court, as she had been gratified with the *survivance* of her grandmother's office, and would therefore succeed her as *dame d'atours*. Louis returned a positive refusal, and stormy interviews were succeeded by intervals of sullen alienation. Richelieu had long sought to discover an antidote to the ill-humours of de Hautefort, which increased the morbid despondency of the King to a degree often unpleasantly manifested during the transaction of business of state. Not one of the ladies, her companions in office, was capable of performing the *rôle* of la Fayette. Mademoiselle de Chemérault, who alone seemed to attract any portion of the royal notice, was silly and frivolous, and quite incapable of sustaining that solid and sentimental discourse in which the King professed to delight. Amongst the pages of honour in the service of Richelieu was Henri Cinq-Mars d'Effiat, youngest son of the Marshal d'Effiat, a beautiful and brilliant youth of eighteen, an adept in all the arts and pastimes of courts. The early boyhood of Cinq-Mars had been spent in the solitudes of his father's wild

domain in Auvergne. Left to his own devices, and without companions of his own age or rank, Cinq-Mars had become a proficient in the sports and outdoor pastimes in which boys of his age delighted. He was an expert snarer of birds, a good horseman, he could fish, wrestle, run, and loved the wild life of the woods, through which he used to roam with ever-increasing delight. At the age of fifteen, the Marshal [50] sent for his son and enrolled him as page in waiting to the Cardinal, who was a kinsman of d'Effiat. Cinq-Mars quitted Auvergne in despair; but once installed at the Palais Cardinal, his good looks, quickness and natural grace attracted the notice of Richelieu. The boy was at once, by his command, placed under suitable masters, all of whom he enchanted by his good humour and merry spirit. Soon Cinq-Mars became the accomplished cavalier and grand gentleman, and indulged to the bent of his desires by the Cardinal, presently assumed the airs of the most finical *petit-maître*. "This young cavalier," writes a contemporary, "by the charm of his discourse and by the grace of his manners gained all hearts. Nature had lavished upon him choice gifts." Unfortunately there was no basis of education and moral culture to support these brilliant but superficial gifts. Cinq-Mars was vain, capricious, irritable, self-indulgent, and seeing himself the idol of the Cardinal's household, conceived so high a notion of his own importance as greatly to amuse, but yet perplex, his patron. Richelieu nevertheless resolved to introduce Cinq-Mars to

the King, and moreover to recommend him to Louis as a suitable and amusing companion for his leisure hours. He therefore gave him the office of master of the wardrobe, and recommending prudence, submission and good humour, installed Cinq-Mars in the royal household. Louis at first disdained Cinq-Mars, whose levity had been represented to him by some personage of the court who was probably jealous of the favourite page of M. le Cardinal. Among his other gifts, Cinq-Mars possessed a melodious voice, and the King overhearing him one day singing some melancholy cadence from one of the royal compositions, immediately took him into favour. The early pursuits of Cinq-Mars then greatly aided his rise to favour. He talked to the King of piscatory exploits, taught his Majesty a new way to snare magpies, advised the King on the management of his kennels at St. Maur and Fontainebleau, and whittled away with Louis on the wooden toys which his Majesty manufactured during his hours of recreation. After the lapse of a few months, therefore, the influence of Cinq-Mars was in the ascendant and that of Marie de Hautefort on the decline.

Meantime, through Mademoiselle de Chemérault, who was now told to do his bidding, Richelieu kept vigilant watch over the household at St. Germain. In this correspondence the personages of the court have each a *nom de plume:* for instance, the King and Queen have the *sobriquet* of Céphale and Procris; Madame de Hautefort is Aurore; Madame de Lansac, La Baleine;

Madame de la Flotte, La Vieille. The disorders and the perpetual dissensions, meantime, arrived at such a pitch that the Cardinal found it expedient to strike. He therefore humbly represented that a further clearance of the *intrigantes* of the court was requisite, unless his Majesty chose to release him from the burden of affairs. Louis abruptly asked if there was not an antidote without proceeding to such extremity. Richelieu replied by cunningly demanding the exile of Madame de Hautefort for a fortnight only, "to prove to unprincipled agitators that the said lady was not the most powerful person in the realm." The King, who had quarrelled with de Hautefort on account of some sarcasms which she had uttered concerning Cinq-Mars and his airs, consented to the proposition, and desired his minister to see that his will was notified. The day previously Louis had returned from a hasty visit to Amiens, and on seeing de Hautefort in the circle, he angrily accosted her in these words: "Madame, I understand that you have been slandering Cinq-Mars, take care in future of your words—take heed, I again repeat, or I shall know how to punish with due severity!"

As soon as the consent of Louis had been extorted, Richelieu despatched Chavigny to signify to Madame de Hautefort the order for her departure on the morrow, without farewell audience of the King. He also recommended that Madame de la Flotte and Mademoiselle de Chemérault should likewise retire for a season. In one of their most

confidential interviews, however, Louis had adjured and commanded Madame de Hautefort on no account to quit the court without obtaining an interview with him, in defiance even of his own assumed command. She therefore determined to brave the wrath of the Cardinal and not to leave Paris without an audience. Indignation and pique at treatment so unceremonious agitated Marie de Hautefort, and she flew to the Queen's chamber to impart the news. Anne wept and sobbed aloud as she clasped her friend in her arms. The Queen, however, declined to interfere, but suggested that probably the report of her approaching marriage with M. le Comte de Gesvres had angered the King, and which a few words would explain. The homage of the brave young Count de Gesvres, captain of the King's guards, had been complacently received by Madame de Hautefort, who weary of cabals naturally inclined towards so advantageous an alliance. The *cancans* of the court reached the King's ear during his visit to the camp. Inflamed with wrathful jealousy, Louis sent an exempt of the royal guard to M. de Tresmes, father of de Gesvres, to express his indignation that the latter had presumed to seek the hand of la Dame de Hautefort, *domestique de la Reyne*, without his royal permission; but as such indecorum had been committed, the King commanded M. de Gesvres to espouse the said lady before the approaching season of Lent. If the said de Gesvres declined to do so, the Count de Tresmes, under peril of the royal displeasure, was

to seek out another bride for his son before the above-mentioned period. The displeasure of Louis XIII. was no passing cloud, both de Gesvres and his father disavowed the intention—the former thanking his Majesty for the gracious permission he had given him to seek the hand of Madame de Hautefort in marriage. Returning to St. Germain after this piece of tyranny, the King, embittered by his past annoyance, addressed the severe reproof to Marie concerning Cinq-Mars. Richelieu knew how to time his opportunities, and probably insinuated that a temporary exile would render de Hautefort more submissive and careful for the future.[51]

Madame de Hautefort, early the following morning, presented herself at the door of the royal apartment to see the King before he proceeded to hear mass. The halberts of the sentinels were instantly crossed to bar her ingress into the apartment, while the officer in the guard-chamber explained "that the King had given orders to deny admittance to Madame de Hautefort." Pale with anger, Marie refraining from useless clamour descended to the guard-chamber through which the King had necessarily to pass on leaving the chapel. As she waited there, perhaps bitter thoughts crossed the mind of Marie de Hautefort of another adventure, when in a still more gloomy chamber she had borne the jibes and curious glances of the soldiers, on behalf of a royal mistress who now declined to make one single effort on her behalf. After a short interval the door

opened, and Louis leisurely entered attended by Cinq-Mars and followed at a little distance by a troop of courtiers. He started when he beheld Madame de Hautefort and retreated a step in confusion. Marie approached with dignity: "Sire," said she, "relying on your royal word, I have not believed or obeyed the order which I have received in your name to leave the court, neither, after your protestations, can I believe it unless I receive the command from your own lips!" Louis confusedly replied "that he had given such command and avowed it, and that her exile was to extend over only fifteen days, to which he had assented with extreme regret for certain important reasons of state!" "Sire, the fifteen days will extend to the end of your Majesty's life! Therefore I bid you eternal farewell!" Louis made no reply but hurriedly passed on.[52]

Madame de Hautefort, perceiving that appeal would be useless, and irritated by a low and mocking obeisance from M. de Cinq-Mars as he passed her, retired and prepared for immediate departure. Her last interview with the Queen added to her discomposure. Anne, though she took from her own ears a pair of superb diamond earrings and gave them to de Hautefort, yet manifested a calmness and indifference most mortifying. When informed that Mademoiselle de Chemérault had likewise been dismissed, Anne declined to make her a parting gift, or to give her a written testimonial of satisfaction at her services. De Chemérault, whom Madame de Hautefort considered her

bosom friend, had since the affair of the Val de Grâce been the spy of the Cardinal, and had not only betrayed her friend but the Queen also in various little trifles which came under her observation. Probably Anne knew more on this subject than she chose to avow. Madame de Hautefort nevertheless, indignant at her dismissal and at the indifference manifested by their Majesties, addressed a letter of reproach to the Queen before she quitted the Louvre. "Madame," wrote de Hautefort in the first glow of her wrath,[53] "if I might be permitted to judge your Majesty's sentiments by my own, I should never dare to say to you adieu for ever, dreading lest that cruel word might endanger your life, as it does my own even while I write it. But as God has conferred upon you the gift of resignation, such as you have shown in many other emergencies, I should wrong Providence and your own constancy if I presumed to fancy that my disgrace and misfortune could disturb either your health or your repose. It is therefore for ever, Madame, that I say to you this word, Adieu! I beg your Majesty to believe that in whatever part of the world fortune may lead me, I shall persevere in that fidelity and attachment to you which is the true cause of my persecution, regretting only not to be able to suffer more evils for the love of you."

Madame de Hautefort proceeds to rate the Queen in the same sarcastic strain for her illiberality to Mademoiselle de Chemérault, who had been dismissed without gratuity, with the

payment only of her salary of 4000 crowns, "and in the same summary manner, Madame, that you would discharge Michelette![54] Madame, if a great Queen like yourself has not money in hand to reward and help a girl whom she has professed to love, at least a present might be vouchsafed, a pension promised, or a letter written to prove to the girl's mother that your Majesty feels satisfied with her past services. Although I have heard with intense mortification the dread which you now manifest to displease him[55] who tears me from you, I protest, Madame, that your timidities and concessions grieve and pique me more for your own sake than for my own, as I might find consolation for my own wrongs, if I could be certain that this injury is the last that you will receive from his hands."

Generous, warm-hearted and imprudent, Madame de Hautefort left many friends at court, and the renown of a spotless reputation. She was attended from Paris to Mans by M. de Villers, an intimate friend of her family, and followed by the Marquis de Noirmoutier who had long been madly enamoured of her, and who hoped to receive in her adversity that encouragement for his honourable proposals which Madame de Hautefort had before denied him when at court.[56]

NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT

[1] Cousin, Vie de Madame de Hautefort.

[2] Tallemant des Réaux, t. 2.

[3] François, second Duc de la Rochefoucauld, born in 1613, author of the Maxims, and of the History of the Regency of Anne of Austria. The duke married the only daughter and heiress of André de Vivonne, Seigneur de la Chateigneraie. He died March 17, 1680.

[4] Cousin, Vie de Madame de Chevreuse.—Tallemant, t. 1.

[5] La Rochefoucauld, Mém. p. 326–7, *et seq.*

[6] Extrait de l'Information faite par le Président Vignier de la sortie de Madame de Chevreuse hors de France. Bibl. Imp. Du Puy. 499–500. Published also by M. Cousin, Vie de Madame de Chevreuse.—Mém. de La Rochefoucauld.

[7] "Voilà où elle *s'assisa* en me disant adieu ; et où elle me dit quatre paroles qui *m'assommarent !*" exclaimed the illiterate prelate, in the fervour of his grief. One day he had a melodrama on the story of Mariamne performed to please the Duchess: "Monseigneur," said the Duchess, "il me semble que nous ne sommes point touchés de la Passion comme de cette comédie." "Je crois bien, Madame," replied the Archbishop ; "ceci c'est histoire ! Je l'ai lu dans Josèphe !"—Tallemant des Réaux, t. 2.

[8] Mém de La Rochefoucauld.—Mém. de Motteville.

[9] Bibl. Imp. MS. Suppl. Fr. 4068. Nouvelle Déclaration de la Reine—de la main de Le Gras.

[10] Marie de Burges.

[11] Mademoiselle de la Fayette soon edified her community by the ardour of her devotions and the ingenuity of her penances. One day some fruit was served on the refectory table, so worm-eaten and covered with ants as to be rejected by the nuns. La Sœur Angélique, however, ate the fruit with unction as an act of penance, to the great admiration of the sisterhood. La Sœur Angélique eventually quitted the convent for that at Chaillot which needed reform and discipline. She eventually became abbess of this community, and lived in intimate friendship with Queen Henrietta Maria, who patronised the convent, in which she spent much of her time.

[12] Griffet, Hist. du Règne de Louis XIII.

[13] Probably the community of Avenay in the vicinity of Rheims, which had just lost its young abbess, Benedicte de Gonzague de Cleves-Nevers.

[14] "Il y a trois semaines que nous cherchons ce qui met le Roi de si mauvaise humeur, et le voilà trouvé ! Je vous promets que j'en informerai M. le Cardinal à votre avantage, et que vous serez bientôt délivré de toute inquiétude," replied Chavigny, laughing.—Griffet.

[15] Journal du Cardinal de Richelieu.—Amsterdam.

[16] Griffet, Règne de Louis XIII.—Bernard, Hist. de Louis XIII.

[17] "On disoit du Père Caussin, 'qu'il avait mieux fait ses affaires à la Cour Sainte (in allusion to his celebrated book), qu'à celle de France.'"

[18] De Coste. Élôges des Dauphins de France.

[19] Ibid. Fondations Royales—Discours, par l'Abbé Richard.

[20] Griffet, Siri, Dreux du Radier, La Rochefoucault, Le Vassor, Motteville, Marana, Journal de Verdun, &c. &c.

[21] Quattro hore spese il re in quel colloquio, si che l'hora trovatasi troppo tarda per ritornare, quella notte nevosissima (correndo il mese di Dicembre), a Groisbois, convenne per forza necessità dormire à Parigi ;

e rimasto il letto del re a Groisbois, la regina colla cena gli fece parte del suo.—Siri. Hilarion de Coste, Éloges des Dauphins de France.

[22] In a Mémoire sent by the Duchess to the Cardinal through Boispille, she assures his eminence of the discretion of her conduct while resident at the Spanish Court: "Madame de Chevreuse ne s'est obligée à rien de tout en Espagne ni en Angleterre; ne se trouvera pas qu'elle ait pris un teston fors les bonnes chères et traitements. Les dernières paroles que le roi d'Espagne lui dit furent, de faire ses recommandations en Angleterre; et que si elle allait en France qu'elle assurât la Reine sa bonne-sœur, de ses bonnes volontés. Elle a parlé comme elle devoit en Espagne, et croit que c'est une des choses qui l'a le plus fait estimer par le Comte-Duc, lequel, elle croit, n'a pas rabattu de l'estime qu'il faisoit de son Eminence."—Bibl. Imp. MS. Colbert.

[23] Cousin, Vie de Madame de Chevreuse.

[24] One day M. de Montbazon was conversing in the presence of the Queens Marie de' Medici and Anne of Austria, and let slip the words: "Vive Dieu, je ne suis ni Italien, ni Espagnol; je suis homme de bien!"—Tallemant, t. 6.

[25] Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis XIII., t. 4. Le Cardinal de Richelieu à l'Abbé Dorat.—MSS. de Colbert, Bibl. Imp., t. ii. fol. 18.

[26] Hilarion de Coste. Éloges des Dauphins de France, p. 198. Declaration du Roi par laquelle S. M. prend pour Protectrice de ce Royaume la très sainte Vierge Marie.—Lancelot Recueil, MS.

[27] One of these, Harmonie de l'amour, et de la justice de Dieu, by François Davesne, was circulated privately, and was published nevertheless in 1650. Another pamphlet written by Vergerius, a German nom de plume, was also circulated, especially in England.

[28] Cousin, Appendice, Vie de Madame de Hautefort. Archives des Affaires Étrangères, t. 88, fol. 409. Mémoire pour Madame de Lansac.

[29] Archives des Affaires Étrangères, France, t. 89; Chavigny au Cardinal. All published for the first time by M. Victor Cousin, Vie de Madame de Hautefort, Appendice.

[30] Archives des Affaires Étrangères, France. Bullion au Cardinal, 23 Août, 1638.

[31] Archives Étrangères, France, t. 89, fol. 105, fol. 122.

[32] Godefroy, Grand Cérém. de France, t. 2.

[33] Philippe Cospean.

[34] Dominique Séguier.

[35] De Coste. Éloges des Dauphins de France.—Godefroy, Naissance de Monseigneur le Dauphin, à présent le Roy Louis XIV., p. 209, *et seq.*

[36] Vallot, the royal physician in ordinary, attributed the strength and liveliness of the child to the copious doses of "quinquina et vin émétique," which he had caused the Queen to swallow.

[37] Godefroy, Grand Cérém. de France, t. ii. p. 209, *et seq.*—Naissance de Monseigneur le Dauphin, à présent le Roy Louis XIV.

[38] Aubéry, Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. du Cardinal de Richelieu, t. v.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Godefroy, Grand Cérém. de France, t. 2.
[41] Ibid. The Queen likewise received warm congratulations from the Cardinal de la Valette, and writes to thank him, "et lui témoigner combien elle avait eu agréable la part qu'il prenoit à ses contentements."—MS. Bibl. Imp., F. Dupuy, 569, fol. 37.
[42] MS. Bibl. Imp., Dupuy, 549.
[43] Godefroy, Grand Cérém. de France.
[44] D'un Cas Extraordinaire, &c. &c., Paris, 1638. A suggestion was made by this author, relative to the favour bestowed by the Queen on Mazarin. At this early period of Mazarin's French career, he is certainly unjustly reflected upon. Mazarin was created by the Pope Legate of Avignon, in 1635. In the year 1636 he paid a brief visit to Paris, and returned to Avignon. In October of the year 1637 he was recalled to Rome by the Pope, where he remained until the year 1639.
[45] The royal physician, Valot, expresses himself thus, in a curious MS. of the Bibl. Impériale, brought to light by M. Paulin Paris. He says: "Que la France avait presque perdu toutes les assurances d'une heureuse succession; car le Roi commençait à se ressentir d'une faiblesse singulière causée avant âge par ses longues fatigues: et l'opiniâtreté d'une longue maladie l'avait réduit en état de ne pouvoir espérer une longue vie, ni une plus parfaite guérison," etc.
[46] Archives des Affaires Étrangères, t. 88.—Cousin.
[47] Archives des Affaires Étrangères, t. 89.—Cousin, Appendice Vie de Madame Hautefort.
[48] "La Reine n'abandonne guère le petit prince, qui est gros et fort. Elle prend grand plaisir à le faire jouer, et à le mener promener dans son carrosse quand il fait beau; c'est tout son divertissement, aussi n'y en a-t-il point d'autres dans la cour."—Mademoiselle Andrieu, Femme-de-chambre de la Reine, à Madame de Senécé.
[49] Catherine de Ste. Maure.
[50] Antoine Coiffier, Marquis d'Effiat, born 1581, died 1632; Grand Master of Artillery, and a Secretary of the Treasury.
[51] Cousin, Vie de Madame de Hautefort.
[52] Ibid. Dreux du Radier, Vie de Madame de Hautefort.
[53] Vie Inédite de Madame de Hautefort.—Cousin.
[54] Anne de Pluviers de St. Michel, fille-demoiselle de la chambre. This Mademoiselle de St. Michel appears likewise to have been one of the caballers of the household.
[55] The Cardinal de Richelieu.
[56] Mademoiselle de Hautefort retired, in the first instance, from the Louvre to the Convent des Dix Vertus ou Madelonettes, where she remained some six weeks as a boarder. On the 27th of December, 1639, she quitted Paris, "résolue comme un capitaine," as le P. Carré reported to Richelieu.

CHAPTER IX

1639–1642

ANNE OF AUSTRIA AND THE MARQUIS DE CINQ-MARS

THE agents of Richelieu kept all the banished ladies under surveillance. Madame de Fargis had sought refuge from persecution in Holland, where she lived in extreme penury, avenging herself for her sufferings by surpassing even Dutch pamphleteers in animosity. Madame de Chevreuse continued to toy with the great Cardinal and to carry on a correspondence, half-friendly, half-menacing. Richelieu demanded unreserved confession of past misdemeanours, unreserved submission, and unreserved confidence in his good will. Madame de Chevreuse, almost broken-hearted at her prolonged exile, complied at length so far as to consent to sign a document in which "she deplored her past bad conduct, and promised to pay no more clandestine visits to Paris."[1] Richelieu thereupon sent an agent to London, with a large sum of money sufficient to acquit the debts of the Duchess, and a very friendly letter exhorting her to return immediately to Paris. The day was fixed for the Duchess to present herself at Whitehall to say farewell to their Britannic Majesties, the coach which was to convery her to Dover was ordered and every preparation made, when she received the follow-

ing anonymous letter of sufficiently alarming import: "If you love Madame de Chevreuse, save her from the ruin which is sure to overtake her in France. This warning is not a mere supposition. The advice I give must be followed if Madame de Chevreuse wishes for security; M. le Cardinal has said too much evil respecting her and her traffickings with Lorraine and Spain to grant oblivion. There is no resource for Madame de Chevreuse but patience for the present, or perdition attended with the keen regrets of the writer." Neither date nor any other indication betrayed the author of this note. Madame de Chevreuse suspected that the writer was Queen Anne, but carefully suppressed her suspicions. A few hours subsequently the Duke of Lorraine, who was the devoted friend of the Duchess, wrote thus in dismay to protest against the rashness of her unconditional return to France: "Madame, —I am advised that it is the design of M. le Cardinal de Richelieu to offer to you every imaginable concession to persuade you to return, but afterwards he means to cause you to perish miserably."[2] The enmity of Richelieu was doubtless greatly exaggerated. The probabilities are that if Madame de Chevreuse had returned she would not have been permitted to reside in Paris, as the dislike manifested by the King for the partner of his consort's past transgressions, and the newborn prudence of the Queen, must have rendered unavailing any counter entreaty preferred by the Duchess. M. de Lorraine, at the

period when he thus addressed Madame de Chevreuse, was actuated by intense indignation at the protection accorded by King Louis to his forsaken wife Nicole, whom though the true heiress of Lorraine he had abandoned for the beautiful Beatrice de Cusance, Princesse de Cantecroix. Madame de Chevreuse, nevertheless declined to continue her journey; she showed the warning letters to Boispille, and instructed him to take copies, which he was to lay on his return before M. le Cardinal. The Duchess, moreover, honourably returned the money sent by Richelieu, and professing intense desire to receive an explanation from his Eminence relative to the mysterious letters addressed to her, she prepared to wait events in Brussels. Another and more ominous signal of danger the Duchess descried in the coldness of Anne of Austria, and in the Queen's marked change of opinion relative to the expediency of the return of her friend, which until recently she had urged and discussed as perfectly feasible. Seeing the Duc de Chevreuse one day at St. Germain, Anne inquired after the health of the Duchess his wife. The Duke, who was not overburdened with wit, after satisfying her Majesty, pathetically deplored the exile of his dear consort, adding "that her Majesty was responsible for her absence which she might now terminate at pleasure." The Queen, in her most icy manner replied, "that M. le Duc was unjust to attribute the absence of Madame de Chevreuse to want of zeal on her behalf, that she still loved

the Duchess and would be glad to see her, nevertheless she counselled her never to return to France!" The result was duly transmitted to the Duchess who wisely thereupon resolved to follow the counsel. Much correspondence ensued, which is still extant, between Madame de Chevreuse and Richelieu, but the gist of all the letters written by the Duchess merged in the remark with which she terminates one of the last of the series: *En attendant il vaut mieux souffrir que de périr.*"

Madame de Hautefort led a tranquil though unexciting life at the château de la Flotte, where she was joined by her mother. No further communication seems to have passed between de Hautefort and the King. Anne's faithful servant La Porte often partook of the patronage and hospitality of the château de la Flotte. Madame de Hautefort also made the acquaintance of Scarron[3] during her exile in the neighbourhood of le Mans, and her favour and countenance in happier times first introduced the merry poet-buffoon to the *salons* of the capital. Madame de Senécé lived in a style of feudal splendour in her grand old ancestral castle of Randan, maintaining always a close correspondence with the court, in which like Richelieu she had her swarm of venal spies and adherents.

The King, meantime, did not find all the satisfaction which he had anticipated in the society of his new favourite Cinq-Mars. The last new habit or the last sally of boyish passion of M. de Cinq-

Mars sufficed to convulse the court. Elated by his extraordinary favour the head of this young cavalier was fairly turned, his will was law. He entered the royal apartments at pleasure, contradicted the King publicly, emptied the royal purse and assumed privileges which bewildered the nobles of the *grande entrée*. The first gift of the infatuated Louis was a large pecuniary benefaction, given after the capture of Hesdin. In the space of a few months the Duc de Bellegarde resigned the office of Grand Écuyer, in consideration of an indemnity of 100,000 francs, which Louis immediately bestowed on his young favourite.[4] Cinq-Mars and his royal master bickered and disputed like schoolboys; often their quarrel ended by a written treaty, gravely signed by Louis and his *protégé*, and witnessed by the gentleman in waiting. The King kept a diary in which he regularly entered the details of these ignoble quarrels, which at the end of a certain period his Majesty forwarded to Richelieu for his perusal. Soon the *lever* of "the young adventurer" was crowded by veterans, courtiers and by ministers, anxious for his good word and support in the royal closet. These *devoirs* were pleasant to render. Cinq-Mars had a sunny smile and a voice most courteously toned for all, he was merry and communicative, liberal with the royal purse, and showed infinite relish for a good story, or for a morsel of well-flavoured scandal. His handsome face and good figure recommended him to the fair ladies of the court, some of

whom rapturously lauded in verse his auburn curls daintily perfumed with musk and ambergris. Of the Cardinal, Cinq-Mars stood in wholesome awe; but yet a sensation of exulting triumph reigned when he perceived that even the great minister, his former patron, approached him with caution as if he also was dazzled with the greatness of his rise. So long as Cinq-Mars aspired only to lead the fashions of the court and to amuse the King's solitary hours Richelieu permitted him to revel in his self-sufficient pride. Cinq-Mars paid profound respect to Anne of Austria, who now lived in almost utter seclusion at St. Germain absorbed by her young son and by her beautiful gardens. No palace fêtes enlivened the court: the stars of Paris society were the Duchess d'Aiguillon, the Duchess de Montbazon, Madame de Rambouillet, Madame de Sablé, the beautiful Princess Marie de Gonzague Nevers, and the Princess de Condé. The splendid entertainments given by these ladies were assiduously frequented by M. de Cinq-Mars, who soon excited the speculation of all his friends by the warmth of his homage to the Princess Marie de Gonzague who had been once secretly affianced to Monsieur—a pretension which the King angrily ridiculed. Another kind of entertainment which Cinq-Mars patronised were the receptions of the notorious courtezan Marion de Lorme;[5] and Louis, who loathed such irregularities, perpetually tormented and irritated him by injunctions to forego this intimacy. Cinq-Mars retorted insolently;

and puzzled his Majesty by desiring him to ask his Eminence the Cardinal whether the *soirées* of such a fascinating siren as the Demoiselle de Lorme were to be lightly relinquished.

Such was the progress of the domestic life of King Louis until the 21st of September of the year 1640. At ten o'clock in the evening of that day Queen Anne presented her husband and the nation with a second son. The Queen was ill only for two hours; and the royal babe was born in the presence of the King, and of Mesdames de Condé, de Vendôme, de Montmorency, de Lansac, and de Brassac. The Cardinal, as before, was absent from the capital at the camp near Chaunes, but a messenger was immediately despatched to carry the joyful news to his Eminence. The child was baptized in the Queen's bed-chamber by the Bishop of Meaux and was named Philip.[6] "I have heard the Queen say that the King testified more joy at the birth of this son than he did when M. le Dauphin was born," relates Madame de Motteville. "The reason doubtless was that his Majesty did not expect the great happiness of beholding himself the father of two sons—he who never hoped to see himself a father." Great rejoicings ensued throughout the realm for the birth of M. le Duc d'Anjou; the child however was weak and puny, and very different in strength and vivacity to Anne's beautiful first-born. Madame de Lansac had the charge of both the children; but the Queen was a devoted mother, and spent hours in watching the slumbers of her infants.

From the birth of Louis, whom the people surnamed Dieu-donné, Anne appears to have relinquished her correspondences with Spain and with other princes inimical to France. Although the Queen treated the Cardinal in public with cold hauteur, letters often passed between them, and it was remarked that when she had any petition to prefer to the King it was Richelieu's assistance which she now sought. Madame d'Aiguillon was evidently welcome to the Queen, and on more than one occasion her Majesty accepted fêtes from the Cardinal at Ruel, where the Duchess presided as hostess—a condescension which she had never before vouchsafed.[7] The marriage of the niece of the Cardinal, Claire Clémence de Maillé, with the Duc d'Enghien, son of Condé, was well received, against all expectation, by Anne, who overwhelmed the timid young bride with caresses and favours. Whilst M. d'Enghien was gaining that experience in arms which rendered him one of the greatest captains of the age, the bride of the future Great Condé was sent by her uncle to the convent of the Carmelites de St. Denis to complete her education. "Our minister," writes la Grande Mademoiselle,[8] "ought apparently to have repaid this great honour of alliance by marriage with the royal house, by submission and assiduous duty to M. le Prince de Condé; it was quite the contrary, however, M. le Prince asked the Cardinal almost on his knees to give Mademoiselle de Brezé to his son, as if she had been the queen of the whole world. To

testify to the minister that he wished for no other interests or attachments, he actually requested him to unite his nephew, M. le Marquis de Brezé, with Mademoiselle de Bourbon! M. le Cardinal replied that he had no objection to give gentlewomen to princes, but not simple gentlemen to princesses: he therefore only did M. le Prince the favour to grant Mademoiselle de Brezé to M. d'Enghien. They were affianced in the chamber of the King. A ball followed, at which Mademoiselle de Brezé, being extremely little, fell whilst she was dancing a couranto, because to make her look taller they had given her such high-heeled shoes that she could scarcely stand. All the company laughed, not excepting M. d'Enghien who had consented with great regret to this alliance in order not to displease Monsieur, his father."

In the midst of all his magnificence and successes the health of Richelieu languished. Outwardly the smooth intellectual face showed no sign of suffering, and the upright, majestic figure bravely bore the burden of fifty years and of the political cares which seldom permitted respite from toil. The Cardinal constantly suffered from abscesses in his side and on his shoulders, which at times caused him excruciating agony. He was subject also to violent pains in the head, and to sleeplessness; yet the bright, brave spirit struggled on. In the camp and in the council-chamber Richelieu was ever at his post, writing voluminous despatches with a hand and

arm sometimes partially disabled by pain, but alluding therein only casually to his sufferings. The Cardinal usually retired for the night at eleven o'clock: he slept for four hours, and at three o'clock his secretary entered with writing materials and a despatch-box. Richelieu rose and dictated despatches until six o'clock, when he again retired to bed for two hours. Every Sunday he received the Holy Eucharist at dawn. He dined at one o'clock, then considered to be a very late hour. The afternoon was spent with the King, in granting audiences, in receiving artists, men of letters, and in taking exercise on foot and an airing along the fashionable promenade of Paris, Le Cours de la Reine, which was close to the Luxembourg palace, the unfinished residence of the unfortunate Queen-mother. At night Richelieu supped magnificently—a banquet of which it was considered the highest honour to partake. Cards, music and conversation were then the pastimes of the *salons* of the Palais Cardinal until eleven o'clock, when the Cardinal withdrew except on special occasions.

Early in the New Year, 1641, the everlasting disputes of the King and his favourite more than ever harassed Richelieu. Both the King and Cinq-Mars appealed to him to settle their silly bickerings. Though the torment was irksome, yet to Richelieu it was not unacceptable inasmuch as it assured him that his influence was dominant. As a specimen of the ludicrous correspondence which troubled the repose of the

great minister, is the following epistle from the King:

"From St. Germain, this 5th day of January, at four o'clock of the evening, 1641.

"I regret much to trouble you again with the bad tempers of M. le Grand. On his return from Ruel he gave me the packet which you sent. I opened, and read its contents. I then said to M. le Grand, 'The Cardinal writes to me that you have testified to him much anxiety to please me; nevertheless, you still refrain from giving me content on a subject which I often speak upon, that is your extreme laziness.' M. le Grand replied, 'that you had been remonstrating with him thereon; but upon that chapter it was not his intention to change, nor did he intend to do better than heretofore.' This speech made me angry. I said: 'A man of your rank ought to render himself worthy of high military commands, you have always assured me that such is your ambition, but idleness, I can tell you, is very contrary to such aspirations.' He then rudely replied, 'that he had never such idea, nor intended to aspire to military commands.' I replied that he had so done, but refrained from pursuing the theme. I presently resumed my remarks upon slothfulness, observing 'that this vice rendered a man incapable of any good thing, and that it was worthy only of the loungers of the Marais, who thought of nothing but pleasure; and that if it was his intention to continue this life of sloth

he had better retire thither.' He then arrogantly replied, 'that he was quite ready to retire.' I then said—'If I possessed not more self-control than yourself, I know what I should answer you;' adding, that being under such obligations to me, he ought not to speak in such uncouth fashion. M. le Grand then said, with his usual insolence, 'that he did not want my benefits and was ready to give me back all that I had bestowed, and that he could do very well without me, and was just as content to be simply Cinq-Mars as M. le Grand; but as for changing his habits and way of life, he could not and would not.' We then continued to rally one another in this manner until I descended into the courtyard of the castle, expressing my wish, 'that while he continued in the same evil humour he would refrain from presenting himself before me.' He replied, 'that he would willingly refrain.' I have not seen him since. All this passed in the presence and hearing of de Gordes. "LOUIS.

"P.S. I have shown this letter to de Gordes, who testifies to have read nothing therein but the truth."[9]

Cinq-Mars, in the same style of excitement, writes on this occasion both to Richelieu and to M. de Noyers. To the former he prefers an entreaty that he will abandon him to his fate and to the anger of the King, as he finds his position at court insupportable.[10] To de Noyers he is more explicit. "You may judge of my miserable con-

dition, by contemplating the extremities to which I am constantly driven. I conjure you, if you ever felt friendship for me, combine no longer to force upon me so wretched a life, but consult with his Eminence on the means of my deliverance so that the aversion of the King may no longer persecute me. This is all that I wish and all that I desire.——Effiat de Cinq-Mars." [11] A few hours after writing these epistles, the King and his favourite had made friends, and had again become inseparable to the consternation of all persons foolish enough to have interfered in the quarrel. Whenever the King sulkily refused to see Cinq-Mars—who usually sat with his Majesty at night until he fell asleep—the valets and pages in waiting concealed him in a dark corridor, and when his accustomed time for retiring arrived, Cinq-Mars boldly walked from the ante-chamber of the royal apartment, bowing to the courtiers who waited to attend him to his own chamber, as if his vigil had been accomplished. The attachment which Cinq-Mars entertained for the Princess Marie de Gonzague, and his hopes of gaining her hand, gradually produced that reformation in his habits which Louis had vainly recommended. During the course of the summer of 1642, his self-possession and apparent steadiness of conduct gained for him commendation and increased influence over the mind of his royal master. The silent but irresistible influence of the Cardinal minister from thenceforth set in, to check the career of the favourite and to circumvent his ambitious pro-

jects. Marie de Gonzague bade Cinq-Mars obtain the sword of Constable of France, with the patent of duke and peer, as the price of her hand. One day therefore M. le Grand with characteristic audacity waited on the minister and asked for the interest of the latter to procure the hand of the Princess Marie and the rank of a duke. Richelieu eyed his suppliant with a glance of mingled amusement and irony; chiding the ambitious young man for his presumption, while absolutely refusing the patent he craved. "As for the Princess Marie, you must be crazy, Monsieur, to aspire to the hand of a Princess who was once destined to be the bride of Monsieur; while Madame Marie herself is mad if she has given you the encouragement you are bold enough to proclaim!"[12] Cinq-Mars however believed in his own destiny, and in the attachment of Marie de Gonzague. He haughtily left the presence of Richelieu, resolved as he declared to follow the example of the late Duke de Luynes—who foiled the Queen-mother, and had won the bâton of Constable of France and with it the hand of Marie de Rohan.

Some time elapsed, and it happened that M. le Grand was with the King, when Richelieu and the lords of the privy council entered to confer with his Majesty. Louis, after some hesitation, took his favourite by the hand, saying in a weak voice addressing Richelieu:—"In order that this, my dearest friend, may one day be capable of serving me, it is my will that he now takes his seat in my

council." The Cardinal smiled his affable smile, complimented M. le Grand, but submitted to his royal master documents of trivial moment only, and took his leave. At the usual hour Richelieu had his private audience: M. de Cinq-Mars was then summoned, and briefly informed by the King, in his driest voice, that his admission to the council-board was cancelled! The King also added several uncomplimentary allusions to the dissipations in which he was informed that M. le Grand habitually indulged.[13] From that moment Cinq-Mars was the deadly enemy of Richelieu, and resolved to compass his overthrow or to perish in the attempt. The old elements of cabal were still dispersed throughout the realm, but a wiser and more subtle man than Cinq-Mars would have avoided renewing the life and vitality of a combination which had always dissolved before the test of Richelieu's genius. There was Monsieur pining in discontent at Blois, whose mind was always in a chronic state of rebellion; there was the Duke de Bouillon, whose stronghold of Sedan rendered him a giant in civil commotions, who had just coyly accepted the minister's overtures of reconciliation, and had been invested with the command-in-chief of the army of Italy; there was Madame de Chevreuse and Queen Marie de' Medici—exiles, women of parts and vindictive, ready to assail their foe even with the weapons of treason; there was moreover Queen Anne of Austria, still shy, reserved and supposed to be devoted to her brothers; and still the un-

relenting opponent of Richelieu. The change in Anne's position was not considered; for it never entered the calculations of the eager conspirators that the mother of the Dauphin of France might be inspired with other views and designs than the narrow prejudices which had actuated the childless Queen.[14] The aim of the new conspiracy professed to provide for the government of the realm after the death of the King, to secure to the Duke of Orleans his rights as lieutenant-general of the realm, and to the Queen her lawful position as guardian and tutoress of the young King. To render this distribution of power eventually possible, it was deemed necessary to overthrow Richelieu, to annihilate his power by the authority of the King, and to divide among the princes of the blood the functions which he had usurped. The personage who negotiated the treaty between Cinq-Mars, the Duke de Bouillon, and the Duke of Orleans, was M. de Thou, the eldest son of the famous historian of that name. De Thou had also certain liberty of access to the presence of Anne of Austria, as in former days he had advanced money at the request of her Majesty to assist the necessity of the Duchess de Chevreuse and other of the banished ladies. Monsieur eagerly entered into a conspiracy, the aim of which was to exalt him so highly. Bouillon also suffered himself to be persuaded—the object of the conspiracy, he flattered himself, was patriotic, and trenched neither on the royal power nor the prerogative.

Meantime, Cinq-Mars laboured assiduously to imbitter the spirit of Louis against his minister; all Richelieu's shortcomings were aggravated, his omissions proclaimed, and the suspicions with which the world had echoed were assiduously poured into the royal ear. The faults of M. d'Orleans were on the contrary palliated, and a pathetic picture was drawn by the wily favourite of Monsieur's unhappy condition, banished from the heart and the court of his brother and subjected to a *surveillance* dishonouring to the royal blood. Maudlin tears ran from the King's eyes as Cinq-Mars drew an affecting picture of the persecution and restraints to which his Majesty was himself subjected by his ungrateful minister. Finally Cinq-Mars wept himself at the scenes which his imagination portrayed. Louis, who never enjoyed a luxury so keen as that conferred by a sentimental scene of the kind, replied in broken murmurs to the plaints of his favourite, echoed all his aspirations for release from a condition of such grinding tyranny, pitied his brother, and groaned under the burden of the sin and the cost of a war directed against the orthodox dynasties of Austria and Spain. Cinq-Mars, young, inexperienced and unacquainted with the wonderful calibre of the royal mind, fell into raptures of gratified ambition. Puffed up with conceit, M. le Grand clasped the King in his arms and besought him to trust to him for aid and deliverance, boasting that he had conceived a project which ere long would bring them happy emancipation. Louis

started, looked curiously on his young favourite and solemnly bade him beware of the arts and irresistible power of M. le Cardinal. Cinq-Mars smiled, entreated Louis to be silent and cautious, to invite M. d'Orléans to court, and steadily to decline the proposal of the Cardinal to undertake the siege of the fortress of Perpignan in person.[15] Won by the caresses and submissiveness of his favourite, and really shrinking from the yoke of Richelieu, Louis became gloomy in the company of his minister, but not communicative. Sickness and repeated meditations on death, and the almost daily use of the confessional, had rendered the King unwilling to pursue the war or to remain the ally of the heretic sovereigns of Europe. The aptness of Cinq-Mars, his newly adopted habits of industry, and his majestic person as it ripened into manhood inspired Louis with the hope that he had at length found a minister able to bear the burden of affairs, and also to become the delight and companion of his own leisure hours. The eloquence of M. le Grand had done more to undermine the power of the Cardinal de Richelieu than the machinations of any previous enemy. A plot, however, under the guidance of Monsieur, directed by the inspirations of M. de Cinq-Mars, imbibed from the fitful humours of his royal master, was almost certain to fail in some important link. The first overtures had been wilily concerted; discontent was rampant amongst the high noblesse of the realm, and a coalition amongst the friends and adherents of the banished nobles, such as the

Dukes de Vendôme, de Bellegarde, de la Valette, and d'Elbœuf, might have seriously embarrassed the government of Richelieu. The chief conspirators, however, Cinq-Mars, Bouillon and Monsieur, wanted speedy action—the minister held possession of the fortified places of the realm; the humour of the King might change; the co-operation of Anne of Austria seemed uncertain—against the urgent counsel and entreaties of M. de Thou, it was therefore resolved to negotiate a treaty with Spain. One M. de Fontrailles, cousin to Cinq-Mars, a person of wit, judgment and courage, was chosen for the dangerous mission to Madrid. Fontrailles had a deformed person, and specially detested the minister for some sharp witticisms which had greatly wounded his vanity.[16] Fontrailles, therefore, departed for Madrid, empowered to place the realm of France under the protection of Philip IV. The Catholic King was to be asked for a subsidy and for troops to garrison Sedan and other places, and also to give a pledge that Spanish troops should enter France at the bidding of the conspirators. The Count-duke hesitated, so many intended invasions of France had brought disgrace to the arms of Spain, and ruin to the promoters of such design. The name of Monsieur no longer carried *prestige*, for his inconstancy and want of mental balance precluded confidence. When informed, however, that Cinq-Mars and the Duke de Bouillon were to be partners in the proposed treaty, Olivarez, with some misgiving, accepted the alliance, as any

diversion likely to draw off the armies of France from before Perpignan might be considered an advantage. It was first expressly stipulated that no enterprise should be undertaken at variance with the interests of Queen Anne or of M. le Dauphin and his brother.[17] The document provided that Philip IV. should furnish a force of 12,000 foot soldiers and of 5000 horse; that a sum of 400,000 crowns should be placed at the disposal of the confederates; that Sedan should be garrisoned with Spaniards on the written request of Bouillon; and that that fortress should be placed at the disposal of the Queen, should she deem it prudent to flee thither for refuge with M. le Dauphin,—for which purpose 300,000 livres were to be provided by his Catholic Majesty for the strengthening of the fortifications.[18] The expediency of removing the principal obstacles to the designs of the confederates, by taking the life of Richelieu, was discussed and enjoined on M. de Fontrailles to recommend to his patrons. This treaty, being signed by Philip IV., was brought back to France in triumph by Fontrailles, who repaired with it to Chambord, where the Duke of Orleans was enjoying the pleasures of the chase as unconcernedly as if no momentous issue depended on his fidelity and prudence. Fontrailles then left the realm; no persuasion sufficing to induce him to incur the risk and the certain ruin of a premature discovery of the treaty which he had negotiated.

The Duc de Bouillon, meantime, had joined the

army in Italy, having first signed an order addressed to his commandant in Sedan, empowering that officer to deliver up the fortress on any summons from Monsieur, from Queen Anne, or from M. le Grand. The negotiations with Spain, meantime, were not of course confided to King Louis. As long as the secret of a conspiracy was hidden from the Cardinal and its object the downfall only of Richelieu, to be brought about by a confederacy of French nobles, the King evidently had no objection to the undignified position of one of the cabal. In their foolhardy presumption, Cinq-Mars and Bouillon and the Duke of Orleans had now ventured many steps farther; they had insolently trenched on the prerogative in providing for the future government of the realm, and had rendered themselves guilty of high treason by the crimes of speculating on the demise of the King, and by negotiations with a foreign power—than which, in the opinion of the jealous and sombre Louis, there could be no more abominable offence. A conspiracy to bring about the fall of an obnoxious minister, having the sovereign as its true, though concealed leader, needed no foreign aid to compass its end. The progress, however, was slower than suited the keen fears of Cinq-Mars and Bouillon. The dubious conduct of Anne of Austria perplexed them and inspired dread. Without due caution they had confided to her the outline of their first project; but Anne had since sedulously avoided intercourse with M. le Grand. When some of the details of the plot—which, as long as the conspira-

tors were only subjects and Frenchmen, was declared to be undertaken to secure the eventual rights of Monsieur, brother of the King—were confided to her Majesty by M. de Thou, she had exhibited the greatest agitation and had commanded silence. The suspicion, therefore, flashed on the minds of the three conspirators that after all the surmise might be true, that Anne and her reconciled but late enemy had privately resolved the matter of the rights of Monsieur and the future government of the realm, and that her Majesty was not inspired with any desire to behold the claims of Monsieur vindicated. On the first word, therefore, spoken by Anne of Austria, Richelieu held their lives in his hand. To save themselves from this peril, Cinq-Mars had resorted to the expedient of a treaty with Spain—the beloved Spain of Anne's youthful years—making therein a distinct recognition of the claims of the Queen to the regency in the event of a minority. Anne, however, steadily declined any communication, hints were lost upon her, and each of the ladies in intimate daily commune had been placed in the palace by Richelieu.[19] One day Cinq-Mars pointedly asked the Queen whether she had lately heard from the King her brother? Anne replied in a voice made purposely audible to every one present, "that she had altogether refrained, during many months past, from correspondence with his Catholic Majesty or with any Spanish personage, such intercourse having been forbidden by her lord the King." The communication,

therefore, of the treaty concluded with Spain seems to have been deferred and left to the ambassador of his Catholic Majesty.

Cinq-Mars attended his royal master from St. Germain on the 23rd of January to Perpignan, while Anne seems to have permitted Richelieu to leave Paris for the seat of war without revealing the important secret, as far as it had come to her knowledge, nor did she even make an attempt to lighten the cloud of apprehended disgrace which pressed upon the mind of the minister. The Queen appears to have been restrained by a certain sense of honour from making revelations confided to her in the belief that she was swayed by former political partialities; probably she also hoped, knowing or suspecting nothing of the negotiations with her brother, that a project so crude and of such imperfect development might be eventually abandoned.

The King took leave of the Queen on the 23rd of January 1642. His adieux were harsh and threatening. He forbade the Queen to leave St. Germain during his absence, even to visit Paris; and again renewed his interdict against her correspondence with Madame de Chevreuse or with any foreign potentate. Neither was Anne to visit the Val de Grâce nor the Carmelite convent; nor was she to withdraw the young princes even for an hour from the *surveillance* of Madame de Lansac. In case the Queen disobeyed these injunctions, his Majesty gave orders to the captain of his guards, M. de Tresmes, to conduct the dauphin and his

brother, attended by Madame de Lansac, to Vincennes, there to reside until his own return from the South. "Monseigneur, the little dauphin," relates Madame de Motteville, "had not completed his third year before he began to give his father umbrage. The Queen did me the honour to relate that the child, seeing his father one evening wearing his nightcap after his return from a hunt, began to cry, simply because, as he had never before seen the King in that guise, he was frightened. The King, nevertheless, became very angry, and scolded her Majesty, saying 'that she brought up her sons to hate him, and therefore it was his intention soon to take them both entirely from her care and society'—a threat which, had Louis lived, he doubtless would have put into execution."

The King, accompanied by Cinq-Mars, at length set out for Perpignan. Louis treated Richelieu, who also attended him, with imperious disdain, and appeared more and more infatuated with his handsome favourite. At Briare the court made sojourn for a few days, and here Cinq-Mars designed the arrest or the assassination of his Eminence. There was a majesty and a constancy of purpose in the aspect of Richelieu which seemed to defy fate. A few hours before the proposed assassination (which was to be effected after the model of that of the Admiral de Coligny), the nose of M. le Grand began to bleed. The persons around interpreted the seizure into an omen of approaching danger; and superstitious dread, therefore,

induced Cinq-Mars to recall his sanguinary commands.[20] At Briare, however, Richelieu fell so dangerously ill that his life was despaired of, an abscess having formed on the left lung, which caused him excruciating torture. Cinq-Mars, therefore, believing that a natural death would soon rid him of the benefactor whom he was betraying with such scandalous ingratitude, induced the King to hasten forwards to Narbonne, leaving the Cardinal at Briare, to resume his journey if returning strength permitted. Richelieu recovered sufficiently in the course of a few days to follow the court; but not wishing in his sickness and prostration to confront his foe, he turned aside and proceeded to Tarascon, where he again took to his bed. Chavigny, il Pastor Fido, as he is termed in the secret ciphers used by the adherents of the minister, alone followed his benefactor, confident still in the bright star of Richelieu. Cinq-Mars, meanwhile, felt stricken under the weight of his secret. Monsieur had left Chambord, and was then enjoying himself in a boisterous state of elation at the baths at Bourbon, and whether the important parchment, on the safe preservation of which the lives of the confederates depended, was left behind at Chambord or was carelessly tossing amongst the baggage of the Duke, was uncertain. From Paris, the Princess Marie de Gonzague sent warnings that rumours of an alarming nature were abroad, that the Queen was sad, and reported to be in constant correspondence with the Cardinal, whose return to favour was predicted.

To allay these anxieties, M. le Grand despatched an urgent summons to the Duke de Bouillon, who was at Casale to return to France, so that they might be delivered from disquietude by the prompt overthrow of their enemy.

Meanwhile the Spanish *chargé d'affaires* in Paris proceeded to St. Germain, and after much solicitation, obtained a stolen interview with Queen Anne. From the lips of the envoy, the Queen first received a detail of the treaty recently negotiated with the Spanish cabinet, and at once disavowed all knowledge of or connivance in the deed. Much surprised, the envoy left a copy of the treaty with her Majesty. A few days subsequently, as the Cardinal de Richelieu was lying on his bed in his lonely chamber at Tarascon, a packet was brought to him which had arrived by courier from Paris. The feeble fingers of Richelieu nervously grasped the papers, and he commenced their perusal. Soon his eyes sparkled with triumph, he raised himself from his pillow and the hue of life again mantled his pallid face. "Surely," exclaimed he, "Providence must watch with special love over Richelieu, and the welfare of this great realm!" The paper in his hand was a facsimile of the treaty executed between Philip IV. of Spain and the subjects of his Christian Majesty—Orleans, Cinq-Mars, Bouillon, and Fontrailles. It never transpired publicly who was the sender of the document, and whose, therefore, had been the hand to restore Richelieu to life and hope. A paper moreover accompanied the document, containing

certain hints which implicated M. de Thou and others.[21] Amidst the variety of speculations upon the quarter from whence the Cardinal derived this most opportune succour, two suggestions only obtained credence with the public.

The first and most generally believed opinion was that Anne of Austria had forwarded the document to the Cardinal, perfect understanding now subsisting between the Queen and Richelieu. Anne, it was alleged, beheld with intense disapprobation a foreign raid on the future dominions of her son, aided by a conspiracy of the nobles, and therefore it was her Majesty's intention to lend powerful support to the minister with whom she was agreed in all matters concerning the presumed long minority of the future King. Moreover, it was observed that the Queen often gave cordial and confidential greeting to M. Mazarin, the Papal Nuncio, who was in the Cardinal's confidence and had been especially recommended to her royal *bienveillance* by Richelieu. The second surmise respecting the good genius who had sent the minister such precious intelligence was that Madame de Chevreuse was that person. Fontrailles retired to Brussels where Madame de Chevreuse was sojourning; he might therefore have betrayed the secret to the Duchess, or she might have been apprised thereof by the Archduke, governor of the Low Countries. These last suppositions will hardly stand the test of examination; it was not likely that Fontrailles, who was one of the conspirators, should furnish the Duchess

with arms against himself ; [22] neither does it seem probable that the generous and impulsive Marie de Rohan would gratuitously betray her friend de Thou—with whom she was in intimate correspondence, and to whom she was, moreover, heavily in debt—for to his liberality she owed the payment of her English creditors.

As soon as Richelieu had made himself master of the details of " the infamous league concocted by M. le Grand," he summoned Chavigny to his bedside. A long and important conference ensued, at the termination of which Chavigny departed for Narbonne, the bearer of the treaty, and of a letter from Richelieu to lay before the King.[23] Louis was horrified at the revelation and could scarcely be persuaded to believe in the guilt of Cinq-Mars. The subtle tongue of Chavigny, however, destroyed every doubt : and pointing to the fatal treaty, he drew so overpowering a picture of the perils of the realm ; of the black ingratitude of M. de Cinq-Mars, of the treachery of the Duke of Orleans, and of the dark league to which both his Majesty and his faithful minister had nearly fallen victims, that the unhappy King shivered at the retrospect. Chavigny's pertinent remarks on the perfidy of his idol did not, however, vanquish the intense reluctance of the King to grant a warrant for the arrest of all the delinquents —this time not excepting even Monsieur. The agitation of Louis was pitiable to behold, and his lamentations moving in their accent of helpless misery. Suddenly he threw himself on his knees

before a crucifix hanging in the alcove close to his bed, and prayed long and fervently. He then caused his confessor, the Abbé Sirmond, to be summoned. Sirmond, however, declared that it was the duty of the King to exact exemplary punishment for crimes of so heinous a nature. The wrath of Louis was rising, and presently he signed an order for the arrest of M. le Grand which he gave with his own hand, though with tears, to Charost, captain of the guard on duty at Narbonne. The decisive order given, the mind of Louis again became disturbed by doubt. So sombre and wrathful was his mood that de Noyers wrote in dismay to Tarascon to request that M. Mazarin might be sent to allay, by persuasive logic, the royal disquietude. " I fear that it will be necessary to devise some plan by which M. Mazarin may discourse with the King, who has now strange reveries. His Majesty said to me yesterday that he had suspicions that beloved names had been substituted for those of the true criminals. The King was very ill all night, at two o'clock his Majesty took a draught and afterwards slept for two hours." [24] In another letter, likewise addressed to Chavigny by his colleague in office, who had returned to consult with the Cardinal, the latter writes, " It is my opinion that the sooner M. Mazarin arrives the better. His Majesty requires consolation, for his heart is very big with grief." [25] Again, in a despatch to Richelieu, de Noyers sends the intelligence—" The King said in my ear to-day, that ' Sedan was worth the price of

a pardon, but that as for M. le Grand he never will pardon him but would leave him to the judgment of his peers.' " Sentiments of compassion and remorse for the share he had had in the conspiracy of Cinq-Mars, and the humiliation of reconciliation with Richelieu likewise harassed the mind of Louis. His Majesty wrote two letters to Richelieu, inviting him to return, and filled with professions of everlasting gratitude for the " watchful vigilance which never slumbered and that had again guarded his realm."

Cinq-Mars, meantime, received positive intimation of the menaced catastrophe; the reserve, besides, of the King's manner on dismissing him for the last time from the presence attracted his attention. Every indication—the presence of Chavigny especially, and the sudden resolve of the King to remain at Narbonne—might have warned him of lurking peril. An assignation with the daughter of a gunsmith proved his ruin. While at this woman's house on the night of the 13th of June 1642, a friend hurriedly apprised him of the order issued, and that Charost was then out to effect his arrest. Through by-streets the unhappy young man fled back to his chamber in the archiepiscopal palace; the royal apartment, however, was strictly guarded, and no access was possible to the King. Cinq-Mars then despairingly threw himself on horseback and galloped towards the gates of the town, whilst Charost and his archers were searching the house he had just quitted. The gates were closed and guarded.

Cinq-Mars alighted from his horse, and in the darkness of the night again made his way back to the abode of his mistress. The soldiers had just quitted the house. Cinq-Mars therefore crept into a stable and hid himself under some trusses of hay. Unfortunately the master of the house, one M. Burgos, returned home and discovered the fugitive. Burgos consulted a friend, who advised him not to incur the wrath of the King by concealing a culprit whose capture was certain on the morrow. Burgos therefore informed Charost where his intended prisoner lay concealed, and a party of soldiers soon dragged the unfortunate man from his hiding-place.[26] Cinq-Mars was then placed in a coach and immediately conducted to the citadel of Montpellier. M. de Thou was arrested the same night and despatched under a guard to Tarascon, to be subjected to the searching cross-examination of the Cardinal. An officer, M. Duplessis Praslin, was sent to arrest the Duc de Bouillon at Casale and to commit him to close custody in that citadel; all of which was achieved after some little resistance and an attempt at concealment on the part of the duke.[27]

The Duke of Orleans on the first rumour of the arrest of Cinq-Mars fled into the province of Auvergne, hiding in the old dilapidated châteaux, or roving about in disguise amid the mountainous districts. The Abbé de la Rivière was sent to Tarascon to assure the Cardinal that the Duke had been more sinned against than transgressing.

The betrayal of the league with Spain was not then known to Monsieur, who had not even confided the matter to his envoy, La Rivière. The Abbé was therefore so taken by surprise as to utter several damaging observations relative to his master's case on being shown the treaty by Richelieu. The latter now seemed at the summit of triumph; his enemies had fallen with signal defeat, and the realm exposed to the treacherous machinations of rebels and of their foreign ally had need of his support. The King was again at his feet, humbled, feeble, desolate, and sick with bodily infirmities aggravated by agitation and distress. But the health of Richelieu also was evidently sinking, and his sufferings were palpable enough to enable him to exact as a crowning concession that his royal master should pay him the indispensable visit of reconciliation. The interview took place at the little hamlet of Montfrin, distant about three miles and a half from Tarascon. Both the King and his minister were too ill to sit up. Louis travelled in a litter, and was lifted therefrom on to a couch, upon which he was carried into the Cardinal's bed-chamber.[28] The interview passed in dejection and submission on the part of the King, and in tears and eloquent appeals by Richelieu. Again the destiny of the kingdom was confided to Richelieu's wisdom, and absolute power given him over the fate of all the prisoners under arrest. At this interview doubtless the secret of how he came by the treaty was revealed by Richelieu to his royal master

Fabert, a lieutenant of the royal guard, who arrested Cinq-Mars, stated that the persons in possession of this secret were MM. de Chavigny and de Noyers, secretaries of state, the King, the Duke of Orleans, the Queen, Mazarin, and himself, but that they all took heed not to divulge so important a fact. "One day some importunate person asked M. le Prince de Condé how the treaty with Spain had been discovered," relates Tallemant. "M. le Prince replied in a whisper. M. Voiture, who was present, said afterwards to M. de Chavigny, 'You make so much fuss about your grand secret, nevertheless M. le Prince knows it.' Chavigny replied, 'M. le Prince de Condé does not know our secret, nevertheless if he did he would not dare to reveal it!' Voiture therefore understood that the information came from the Queen, besides it was remarked that no more was said about taking her children from her as the King had threatened. It may be urged however that if such conjecture was true, Madame de Lansac would not have dared to draw back the curtain of the Queen's bed and tell her abruptly that M. le Grand was arrested. This in my opinion," continues Tallemant, "is no contradiction of the supposition. Madame de Lansac, for obvious reasons, was permitted—nay perhaps ordered—to make such sudden revelation to avert suspicion." Tallemant, moreover, might have added that Anne's betrayal of the conspiracy having been made with the greatest secrecy, Madame de Lansac was not likely to suppose that

her royal mistress suspected even the probability of so sudden an arrest.

In the archives of the French Foreign Office, however, M. Cousin discovered invaluable documents, which disclose the sentiments of the Queen on the arrest of Cinq-Mars. On being apprised of the event Anne wrote, through Le Gras her confidential secretary, to Richelieu, a letter full of congratulation and indignation at the criminals: "The extreme ingratitude of Cinq-Mars inspires her Majesty with a horror which she is attempting to express in a letter to the King, which she prays M. le Cardinal to present." [29] "The Queen," writes M. de Brassac, "is so rejoiced at the propitious termination of the conspiracy that the indisposition from which she was suffering vanished under the influence of her joy." [30] When Chavigny returned to Paris at the end of July, to institute commissions to try the prisoners, he paid his respects to the Queen at St. Germain, and writes to report his interview to the minister: "I found the Queen so grateful and mindful of the great obligations which she owes to your Eminence, that I firmly believe it would be a task of great difficulty to induce her to act in anything without your counsel and permission; she has resolved to follow your wishes in all matters, and has commanded me to give you this assurance on her behalf. . . ." Again Chavigny writes, August 12th, "I am more than ever persuaded that the tender regard which the Queen testifies towards you, Monseigneur, is sincere; and that there is now

nothing easier than to keep her in this mind, as she aspires to no other favour in the world than to be with her children, without pretending to direct their education, which she passionately hopes that your Eminence will superintend. The Queen commanded me to say to your Eminence that she is inspired with the greatest impatience to greet you again." [31] Fontrailles, in a deposition [32] made when all peril was over, states " that M. de Thou, in the last visit which he paid him, informed him that, to his surprise, the Queen knew of his (Fontrailles) mission to Spain, and its object; and that it was his opinion her Majesty learned the event from Monsieur, and was in her heart glad at a conspiracy which would act as an earthquake in the court, and from the results of which she might herself derive good rather than harm." Another piece of circumstantial evidence which seems to affix the betrayal of the conspiracy upon Anne was her sudden fear lest Madame de Chevreuse should be permitted to return to France. The Duchess was in a position to hear much at the Spanish court of Brussels; besides her warm friendship for M. de Thou might induce her to make inconvenient endeavour to clear up the mystery. The Queen, openly faithless at last to her oldest and most devoted friend, sent for Chavigny one morning and asked him whether it was true that the Cardinal was about to yield to the importunity of the Duchess de Chevreuse and permit her to return to France. " Without waiting for my reply," writes Chavigny to Richelieu,

"her Majesty proceeded to inform me that she should deeply regret the return of the said lady; for that she now valued her at her proper worth. The Queen then directed me to request your Eminence, in her name, not to permit the Duchess de Chevreuse to return to France, but that if your Eminence had any inclination to confer a favour on the said lady Duchess it might not be that of her recall. I then assured her Majesty you would give her satisfaction on this point. I never saw indications of more sincere satisfaction than that shown by the Queen when I delivered your message. She moreover protested that she would nevermore permit Madame de Chevreuse to approach her person, but has taken the firm resolve, which she intends to maintain as if her salvation depended thereon, never to suffer any person to speak to her or to give her counsel which tended to the violation of the smallest of her duties and of her promises."[33] In the generous enthusiasm of her disposition Madame de Chevreuse relied on Anne's friendship, though sorely puzzled by the reports wafted to the court of Brussels of the Queen's strange indifference to those whom she used to term her friends. She heard with surprise of the Queen as being present at the sumptuous fêtes of the Palais Cardinal, even when the King was too indisposed to be the guest of Richelieu; that her Majesty's fair face now beamed with smiles and condescension when speaking with the minister, who on the occasion of her visits, gave pompous entertainments and

stood during the evening behind Anne's chair arrayed in splendid robes of scarlet velvet glittering with gems.[34] Madame de Chevreuse, nevertheless, still believed in the Queen; attributing all that appeared strange in her Majesty's deportment to the inevitable exigencies of her position.

If any event could have tempered the exultation which possessed the heart and mind of Richelieu, it must have been the tidings which reached him while at Tarascon of the death of Marie de' Medici, his earliest friend and benefactress. The Queen expired at Cologne on the night of the 3rd of July 1642. Her disorder was dropsy and ulceration of the legs, consequent it is supposed on ignorant medical treatment. Such had been the forlorn desolation of this great Princess, mother of a King of France and of the Queens of England and Spain, of a Duchess Regent of Savoy and of Monsieur, that during the early winter months of 1642 bread and fuel had absolutely failed her! "Marie wearied all the world and was herself in turn wearied to such degree that she sought throughout the universe for a resting-place, and found none. England through the intrigues of Richelieu rejected her, Spain through dread of what she might betray closed the portals of the Low Countries, Holland daunted by the frown of Richelieu declined to receive her. At length she repaired to Cologne, where she resided during nine months reduced to indigence, and compelled to use the wooden furniture and cupboards of her apartment for fuel, during the cold of that most

rigorous season of 1642."[35] France, it was true, could not hold Richelieu and the Queen-mother, and one was obliged to succumb before the genius and fortune of the other. Marie, ill-advised to her last hour, stifled the generous remorse which on several occasions arose in the bosom of her great adversary, by the vindictiveness of her impotent threats, and by the vow she had registered, if ever she returned to France, to compass the judicial death or the assassination of Richelieu. It was unjustifiable, nevertheless, to sequestrate her revenues, to dishonour the pecuniary drafts which her necessity compelled her to give on the exchequer of her son the King, and to poison the ear and alienate from the friendless Princess the regard of the potentates, her nearest kinsmen, by mendacious slanders, listened to only because they were propounded by the envoys of mighty France. On her dying bed Marie forgave all her enemies and Richelieu by name. The Papal Nuncio, who assisted her in that solemn hour, asked her whether as a supreme act of faith and humility she would send a bracelet she then wore on her arm to the Cardinal? The dying Queen turned impatiently away. "*Ah, c'est trop!*" exclaimed she with energy, and spoke no more for several hours. The last will and testament of Marie de' Medici was witnessed by the Nuncio, by the Archbishop of Cologne and by other Churchmen of note. Marie's bequests were numerous, as she left legacies to all her servants and officers. To Anne of Austria she bequeathed the diamond

ring of her own betrothal to Henri Quatre. To her daughter Henrietta, Queen of England, her fragment of the true Cross encircled by pearls and diamonds.[36] The remains of the Queen were interred in the cathedral of Cologne ; subsequently the coffin was exhumed during the regency of Anne of Austria and transported to France, where it was placed in the royal mausoleum at St. Denis.

The death of Marie de' Medici inspired no merciful promptings in the heart of Richelieu. Though crippled with bodily infirmities he panted for vengeance on those who had so nearly compassed his overthrow. The King, incensed by his vivid representations, seemed to find solace only in vituperations on the career of his late unhappy favourite. Louis now declared that he had never truly liked Cinq-Mars, whose idleness *le faisoit vomir ;* his Majesty further exclaimed with childish inanity, " That great, fat, idle, wicked boy Cinq-Mars never said a *pater*, nor could he ever induce him to try." When the King was at Lyons on his road back to Paris, Cinq-Mars sent an impassioned appeal for pardon and for an interview. Louis, when he received the message, was pleasantly engaged in his apartment over a stove, boiling a composition of sugar and treacle, which schoolboys in the nineteenth century call lollipop. " No," said his Majesty in reply to the appeal, taking the pan off the fire and shaking its contents, " No ! the soul of Cinq-Mars is as black as the bottom of this pan ! I will give him no audience ! "[37] M. de Thou, meantime, was put

on board a barge under a guard of soldiers, and followed in the train of the Cardinal up the Rhone to Lyons. His fate does not appear to have evoked from his contemporaries that tribute of sympathy which posterity has assigned him. Possessing a name illustrious in legal and literary annals, de Thou displayed a sensitive eagerness to be recognised as an equal by the feudal princes of the land. His mind was inconstant, restless and craving for novelty. His character was so undecided that it is recorded, when he left home he sometimes lingered for an hour on his doorstep before he could make up his mind in what direction to walk. He entered into the designs of M. le Grand from delight at the notoriety they were likely to confer. He had attached himself to the car of Madame de Guémené, and bore patiently the caprices of so great a lady, solely that his name might be linked with hers *en rapport*, as one of her accepted admirers. Cinq-Mars had nicknamed de Thou "Son Inquiétude," as he was always in a chronic state of excitement and never happy except in a state of ferment.

The commission for the trial of MM. Cinq-Mars and de Thou was issued on the 6th of August, 1642. The royal commissioners were the Chancellor Séguier and six other judges. Louis published a manifesto, addressed to the Parliament of Paris, in which he brands his late unfortunate favourite with angry epithets. The King states that the cunning policy of the Sieur de Cinq-Mars was to proclaim evil tidings and to hide happy

events, to depreciate the policy of Richelieu and to laud that of Olivarez, to mock at religion with a facility which testified that the love of God was far from his heart. "His imprudence, impudence, flippancy, and the intelligences which he held in our army," continues his Majesty, "confirmed our growing suspicions. We afterwards discovered that his evil-balanced mind had betrayed him into forming a league against our realm; that the Duc de Bouillon was to open at Sédan the portals of our kingdom to foreign armies, at the head of which our very dear brother the Duc d'Orléans was to march, and that this miserable man was to join them, in case he could not serve his faction better by remaining near our person and ruining the influence of our cousin the Cardinal de Richelieu." Louis thus continues, and states the items and condition of the treaty.[38] The Chancellor, after subjecting the accused persons to one interrogatory, repaired to the town of Villefranche in the Beaujolais to question Monsieur, who had been reduced to a pitiable condition of terror on being apprised that his doings with Spain were known to his brother. He therefore avowed all he knew with the most *naïve* candour, and declared himself ready to assist M. le Cardinal in forwarding the ends of justice on the persons arrested. This contemptible prince confirmed by his confession that which was already known.[39] He vindicated de Thou from being an accomplice in the Spanish treaty, but acknowledged that he was aware that such a document had been obtained.

Finally Monsieur delivered up to the Chancellor the original treaty which had been brought to Chambord by M. de Fontrailles.

The prisoners Cinq-Mars and de Thou were both confined in the fort of Pierre Encise of Lyons, to which place the former had been transferred. Richelieu during the trial remained in the neighbourhood of Lyons with his niece, Madame d'Aiguillon, and other friends. The fatal treaty was evidence sufficient to procure the condemnation of Cinq-Mars, who behaved throughout the trial with a courage and lofty resignation which affected even his judges. He was condemned to the question, *ordinaire et extraordinaire*, but by command of the King was only led into the torture chamber and there required again to make solemn affirmation that he had nothing more to confess. De Thou was likewise condemned to suffer the extreme penalty of the law because *il avait brouillé*, and had not denounced the traitorous conspiracy to which he had been all along privy. Sentence of decapitation was pronounced on both the prisoners, September 12th, 1642, which was executed the same day. Cinq-Mars died like a hero and a Christian, he forgave his enemies and with steady resolution laid his head on the block, which was severed from his body at the first blow. The spectators melted into tears as they witnessed the cruel fate of a cavalier so accomplished and beautiful, and whose errors had been fostered and encouraged by the selfish indulgences of the King. De Thou met

his fate calmly but with less outward courage. His face was pallid as he ascended the scaffold streaming with the blood of his unfortunate friend, and it was observed that his arms trembled. Less fortunate than Cinq-Mars, the headsman, unnerved by the tragedy already enacted, failed at the first stroke to sever the head. The blow descended on the skull but fortunately rendered the unhappy sufferer senseless, while the horror of the spectators was such, as the executioner finished his dreadful task, that women fainted and the mob with groans and cries of indignation pressed towards the scaffold, and were restrained only from tearing it down by the advance of troops from the garrison.[40] It was supposed that the torture had been spared Cinq-Mars by the craven fears of Louis XIII. lest the former might betray the plans which they had formerly discussed to the detriment of the Cardinal. Probably had Cinq-Mars known less of the King's secret sentiments, his life might have been spared to the agonised supplications of his mother. "Madame," wrote the Cardinal from Lyons to the unhappy mother,[41] "if your son had been only guilty of the many plots now come to light for my destruction I would forget my own injuries to grant your desires, but your son having been convicted of most perfidious infidelity towards the King, and having placed himself at the head of a league to disturb the prosperity of his master's reign and to betray him for strangers and foreigners, enemies of this realm, I must

decline to interest myself in his affairs altogether. I pray, Madame, that God may console you." The Duke of Bouillon, meantime, had remained a prisoner in the fort of Casale, from whence, after the death of Cinq-Mars, he was removed to Lyons. His ultimate fate excited many discussions in council. The Duke, admonished by the fate of M. de Montmorency, and therefore relying little on the consideration due to his august rank, wrote to the Cardinal offering to submit to any terms he might think fit to impose short of exile and confiscation of his wealth and dignities. Madame de Bouillon,[42] who was a woman of courage and spirit, rendered the Duke's letter the more emphatic by writing to the Cardinal imploring his powerful intercession with the King, but stating in positive language that if the persuasion of his Eminence failed she intended to deliver up the fortress and principality of Sédan to the Spaniards. The Prince of Orange, uncle of the Duc de Bouillon, also sent the Count d'Estrades to Paris to offer intercession. The Prince, during Richelieu's temporary eclipse, had stood his firm friend in genuine admiration of his administrative talents. The Prince had directed the Dutch ambassador to wait upon King Louis before his departure for Perpignan, to express the regret of the States that the Cardinal de Richelieu seemed to have fallen from the royal favour, which declension occasioned great uneasiness to the German allies of the crown, who, by their confidence in the ability of the great Cardinal, were

restrained only from concluding a peace with Spain. This good office Richelieu resolved to requite by sparing the life of the Duc de Bouillon. A private arrangement was therefore concluded. Bouillon confessed his guilty connivance in the machinations of Cinq-Mars, and gratefully accepted the terms of pardon imposed—which were, "the cession of the fortress and principality of Sédan to the crown, with all the neighbouring lands appertaining to Bouillon, and the artillery and munitions in store, in return for life and liberty, which the Duke humbly craves may be accorded to him within the next fourteen days." [43] The possession of Sédan was more important to the King of France than the enforcement of the law against Bouillon, for the death on the scaffold of the Duke could not have been followed by the legal confiscation of his principality which he held independently of the crown. The Duchess, therefore, might have called Spanish troops to her aid, or what was most probable after the death of the Duke she would have delivered up Sédan to the Prince of Orange and a Dutch garrison to hold in trust for the young Duke her stepson. A pardon under the great seal was issued on the 15th of September by the King, "in consideration of the earnest intercessions of our cousins, the Prince of Orange and the Landgravine of Hesse." The following day Bouillon was set at liberty and retired to his château de Turenne.[44] Mazarin negotiated the treaty and was sent by Louis to take possession of Sédan on behalf of the crown.

He narrowly escaped capture by the Count de Bucquoy, an officer in the pay of Spain, who set an ambuscade of 800 cavaliers near to Donchéry to attack the Cardinal and his escort, which consisted of twenty-two companies of Swiss and royal guards. Mazarin, however, happily avoided the peril by travelling by night. He entered Sédan where he was received by the Duchess de Bouillon, who delivered up the fortress and its stores in accordance with the treaty signed by her husband—and thus the great chieftains of La Marck ceased to be sovereign princes.

"Sire! your enemies are dead and Perpignan is yours!" wrote Richelieu from Lyons to the King on the 14th of September. The great southern fortress, reported to be impregnable, had fallen most opportunely, so as to enable the Cardinal to proclaim its surrender in the same despatch which informed the King of the execution of Cinq-Mars and of M. de Thou. The glory of the capture of Perpignan remained with the Marshal de la Meilleraye who commanded the last storming of the iron walls of the citadel, which, perched on the summit of an almost perpendicular rock, could not be mined. There was one weak point only by which the garrison might be driven forth —the want of water: the assault given by the Marshal destroyed the only well of the fortress, and ten days afterwards the garrison capitulated.

Richelieu now prepared for his triumphant advance to the capital. The temper of the King was not satisfactory; he simply expressed his

obligations to his minister, and there was a gloom and reserve in his communication which disturbed Richelieu. The Queen hastened however to write to the Cardinal; and she sent him a portrait of M. le Dauphin, which attention, as he observed to the Duchess d'Aiguillon, greatly comforted him: "I cannot sufficiently thank your Majesty for this favour. I revere the portrait of M. le Dauphin, as I shall all my life revere his person. May God grant that my successors in office may render him the faithful services that I have always offered to the King and to your Majesty." [45]

From Lyons the Cardinal travelled to the capital with the pompous progress of a sovereign prince. His infirmities were now so great that he could not bear the motion of any kind of carriage drawn by horses. The greater part of the journey therefore was performed by water. The Cardinal had thus a comfortable journey from Tarascon to Lyons, but from Lyons to Roanne, the place where he was to embark on the Loire, many miles of country intervened. A large chamber of wood was therefore built, having windows and doors, draped on the outside with red damask and ornamented with gold mouldings. In wet weather a cover of oil cloth was prepared to case the damask and to render the chamber waterproof. Inside was a bed, a couch, a table, a mirror and a chair for the secretary of the minister or for the occupation of Madame d'Aiguillon. Twelve gentlemen of the guard bore along this sumptuous litter by gilded staves resting

on their shoulders. In this state the Cardinal was borne from Lyons to embark on the river Loire by his devoted gentlemen in turn who all persisted in marching bareheaded. His barge was superbly adorned and his couch was placed on deck under a velvet canopy. The barge was followed by that of Madame d'Aiguillon, then came the superb litter in a boat surmounted by the royal standard and by the banner of Richelieu. The flotilla was attended by a number of smaller barges and boats which gliding up the river presented a picturesque spectacle. On either side of the river a squadron of cavalry followed the state barge to watch over the safety of the great minister. Every night Richelieu landed and was borne, reclining in his litter, to the lodgings prepared in each of the large towns on his route. No obstacles were suffered to impede his progress, walls were thrown down to facilitate the passage of his litter, the windows of houses were taken out to give it admittance into the chamber prepared; if the lodging happened to be on the second story of a house, a gradual ascent from the street or the courtyard to an aperture on a level with the chamber was constructed of planks railed in on each side up which he was borne by his faithful body-guard.[46] When his Eminence arrived at a town a deputation of municipal authorities received and attended him to his abode, the bells of the town rang merrily and the flag of Richelieu was seen floating side by side with the banner of the *fleurs-de-lis*. The

pompous landing at Nevers was witnessed and described by the Abbé de Marolles,[47] the faithful friend and almoner of the Princess Marie de Gonzague-Nevers, who heart-broken at the execution of Cinq-Mars, had retired to the palace of her ancestors to deplore her fault in having stimulated the ill-regulated ambition of that unfortunate man.

The Cardinal rested for an interval at Fontainebleau, and arrived at Ruel about the middle of October 1642.[48] The acute pains which constantly racked his limbs rendered him irritable and more than ever inclined to domineer over a master only too ready to concede. Indeed Richelieu's pretensions and demands showed that for the future he intended to share the royal splendour as well as the power of the throne. Louis paid his minister a visit on his arrival at Ruel; the Cardinal did not rise as his Majesty entered the chamber. His bodily infirmities were probably the occasion of this disregard of proper etiquette, and as such Louis would have excused the omission. The Cardinal however coldly remarked, "that princes of the Church were not bound to show deference to any secular power, and that for the future he should avail himself of his privilege." Queen Anne and her Dauphin visited Ruel on the same day. Richelieu kissed her Majesty's hand and asked permission to embrace Monseigneur, but did not rise from his couch.[49] Against M. d'Orléans the anger of Richelieu burned fiercely, and he made no

attempt to conceal his sentiments of profound contempt and indignation. In this feeling Louis entirely sympathised with his minister, and between the two an edict was concerted to deprive Monsieur and his posterity of their rights to the succession in the event of the extinction of the issue male of Louis XIII.: a forfeiture justly incurred by his repeated and malignant treason. This edict was likewise to debar the Duke for ever from holding executive or military functions in the realm; it again denied the validity of his marriage with Marguerite de Lorraine, and interdicted his residence in Paris or wherever the court might be sojourning. The secret was confided to Mazarin, to Chavigny and to de Noyers. It was proposed to present the Act of Deprivation for the sanction of the Parliament of Paris, and subsequently to convoke the States of the realm to give it final ratification. The death of the Cardinal however intervened before this great judicial decree was ready for presentation either to the council of state or to the Parliament. Cardinal Mazarin meantime had been promoted to the place vacant by the death of Father Joseph [50]—that of confidential adviser and bosom friend of the minister. The charming manners of the subtle Italian, his pliability and keen intellect, his vast conceptions of the power of the sovereign prerogative, and his unaffected sympathy for the woes, mental and bodily, of Richelieu, rendered him an indispensable personage at the Palais Cardinal. Mazarin's [51] soft words and winning

appeals fell like oil on the billows of royal wrath, and often under his soothing expostulations Louis' troubles subsided. It was remarked by all the *habitués* of the Louvre that since the death of Cinq-Mars the temper of the King had become more morose, and that at times his Majesty could scarcely conceal his fear and his detestation of his minister. So threatening was the temper of the King, that Richelieu remembering the fate of the Marquis d'Ancre seldom ventured to the Louvre. About this time therefore he demanded that his guards might attend him to the palace and wait his exit in the guard-chamber of the Louvre. The request threw the King into a paroxysm of wrath, which was increased when one afternoon Chavigny appeared with a peremptory demand from the minister for the dismissal of four officers of the household—to wit, Troisville, lieutenant of the famed Mousquetaires du Roi; of MM. Tailladet, La Salle, and des Essarts, captains in the body-guard. The Cardinal pleaded that his life was not safe from the violence of these gentlemen; that M. de Cinq-Mars had deposed at his trial that the King on introducing to him M. de Troisville said, "Behold M. le Grand, a truly faithful man who will any day at my command rid me of M. le Cardinal;" that if his Majesty should be pleased to deny his request he must retire from the perilous burden of affairs. "But, M. de Chavigny," replied the King, "consider—Troisville [52] serves me faithfully, and he has received abundant proofs of my

satisfaction at his services!" "Sire!" retorted Chavigny, "consider also how well M. le Cardinal has served you! consider that he is faithful and moreover indispensable to your government. You ought not to weigh a M. de Troisville in the same balance!" Louis made no reply and the secretary of state therefore withdrew to report to Richelieu the result of his audience. "What, M. de Chavigny, you said nothing more! You did not press the King more urgently, you did not tell his Majesty that he had no alternative but to comply!" exclaimed the Cardinal, fiercely.[63] A few days elapsed during which Richelieu caused rumours to be bruited abroad that he was about to resign the conduct of affairs. The panic was great, and the Dutch ambassador again asked audience of the King to impart the fears of his government. He intimated that the appointment of a minister professing a less liberal policy than M. le Cardinal would necessarily be followed by a treaty of peace between the States of Holland and his Catholic Majesty, as it did not seem probable that a minister of rigid orthodoxy would long maintain the alliances of the French crown with the heretic Powers of Europe. The same remonstrances were spoken by Grotius on behalf of the young Queen Christina of Sweden. The adherents of Monsieur also took heart and began to show themselves in Paris. The Cardinal was enraptured at the ferment, which completed the despairing perplexity of the King. Chavigny therefore soon afterwards appeared at St.

Germain, and presented a paper which contained the formal resignation by Richelieu of his offices and a demand for permission to withdraw to the château de Richelieu. The fury of the King was now vehemently excited. "Leave me!" exclaimed his Majesty, "leave me, sir, and carry back this paper to him who sent you, and say that I mistrust those around him far more than he suspects the worthy lieutenant of my musketeers and the three honest captains he names! I refer to you, Chavigny, and to your friend de Noyers. If Troisville and the others are exiled I will banish you both from court at the same time."[84] Notwithstanding the displeasure of the King, Richelieu persisted in his demand of retiring from office. On the 26th of November therefore the three captains received *congé*. The King made one more effort on behalf of Troisville, whom he highly esteemed, but this resistance was a further incentive to the Cardinal to insist upon his dismissal. "Perseverance, like faith, removes mountains," observed his Eminence to Mazarin; "Troisville shall decamp." Louis was compelled by his inert habits and his inaptitude for affairs to accept this alternative rather than the resignation of his minister. He however refused to nominate other persons to the posts vacated, but decreed that his exiled officers should continue to receive their pay regularly as if in actual service. On the 1st of December Louis sent a gracious message to Troisville. "I am expressly ordered by his Majesty," said the King's envoy, "to

assure you of his favour. If he has reluctantly consented to your exile from the importunities of the Cardinal his Majesty has diminished towards you nothing of his accustomed *bienveillance*, he permits you to leave the court but only for an interval. The King commands you to retire to Moustiers, your pensions and your pay will be remitted to you as usual, the only difference being that his Majesty increases them by one half and bids you remember him with affection."[55] Troisville left the Louvre with tears of regret, ready to perpetrate any deed at the bidding of his master. He quitted Paris, omitting the usual formality of leaving his name at the Palais Cardinal. Mazarin then repaired to St. Germain, and with his sleek tongue and ready plausibility tried to soothe the King, and to induce him to receive again the two secretaries of state—Chavigny, who was popularly nicknamed "the Cardinal's jackal," and de Noyers.

A greater Master, however, than the one whom he so recklessly braved demanded from the Cardinal an account of his stewardship. The agitation of his conflict with the King had greatly exhausted his strength. On the 1st of December, the day upon which Troisville left Paris, Richelieu awoke in a shivering fit and suffering intolerable pain in the right side and in the chest. The physician bled him and applied blisters. On the following days, Sunday and Monday, Richelieu was no better; his respiration was laboured and his sufferings constant. On Tuesday mass was said by Lescot,

bishop-designate of Chartres and confessor to his Eminence. Afterwards the Cardinal received the Holy Eucharist with great outward demonstrations of fervour. On this day also prayers for his recovery were said in all the churches of the capital. During the afternoon of this same day the sufferings of Richelieu became so intense that his physicians, believing that he could not survive many hours, recommended that a despatch should be sent to St. Germain to inform Louis of the extremity of his minister who earnestly desired an interview. The King immediately repaired in somewhat ungracious mood to the Palais Cardinal.[56] The scene in the sick man's chamber was striking and impressive. Richelieu, propped up by pillows and gasping for breath, was supported by the Duchess d'Aiguillon, by his nephew the Marshal de Brezé and by Chavigny on one side; on the other side of the couch stood Mazarin and the bishop of Chartres. The room was filled by a throng of courtiers, bishops and attendants, whose glances were riveted on the agonised face of the sufferer. At a little altar not very distant from the bed, Séguier, bishop of Meaux, offered intercessory prayers and read passages from l'Office des Mourants. All retired as King Louis entered attended by the Marquis de Villequier. The fast-fleeting strength of Richelieu seemed restored on beholding the King. "Sire," said he, "I now say to you adieu for ever in this world. In taking my leave of your Majesty, I behold your kingdom more puissant than ever and your

enemies vanquished; the only recompense I presume to beseech is your favour and protection for my nephews and kinsmen. Your Majesty has many learned and competent personages in your council—retain their assistance." Faintness coming over the sufferer, Louis took a cup from the hand of an attendant and himself administered a restorative. Richelieu's voice had sunk to a whisper; he afterwards, it was said, recommended Mazarin as his successor.[57] The King made a general promise to attend to the advice given him and hurriedly took his leave of the dying man. Afterwards his Majesty addressed a few words to the Duchess d'Aiguillon, who sat apart [weeping bitterly. He then leisurely strolled through Richelieu's matchless gallery of pictures, before returning to the Louvre, with an air of heartless unconcern which occasioned many comments.[58]

After the departure of the King, Richelieu lay in silence and exhaustion for upwards of an hour. He then called his physicians and asked how long he was likely to survive. These personages declared that they even then did not despair of his life, as Providence would doubtless work a miracle on behalf of a personage so indispensable to the realm. A murmur of impatience escaped the lips of the Cardinal, and beckoning to Chicot, physician in ordinary to the King, he said: "Monsieur, I conjure you as a Christian gentleman and not regarding your medical capacity, to tell me how long I have to live." "Monseigneur, I believe that within four-and-twenty hours you will

be either cured or at rest." "I understand: you speak like an honest man," replied the Cardinal. Addressing his confessor, Lescot, he then requested that Extreme Unction might be administered with as little delay as possible. The Cardinal then conversed for a few minutes in a whisper with his niece, Madame d'Aiguillon, and extorted from her a promise that she would relinquish her resolve to embrace a monastic life.[59] At midnight, December 3rd, the last Sacraments were administered. The Host was borne to the bedside of the dying man by the Curé de St. Eustache. He rose from his pillow and with outstretched arms exclaimed, pointing to the Ciborium, in a voice which had suddenly recovered its loud ringing tones: "Behold my Judge and my Saviour! I pray Him to condemn me, if I have not preferred before all things the welfare of religion and the prosperity of this realm! Speak to me, M. le Curé; speak as to a great sinner—treat me as one of the least of your penitents!" The priests present then recited the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed. "Do you, Monseigneur, faithfully believe and hold all these articles of the Christian Faith?" "Without simulation; if I had a thousand lives I would give them for the Faith and for Holy Church," replied Richelieu. "Monseigneur, do you pardon your enemies? and if it should please God to restore you to health, do you purpose to serve Him with tenfold zeal, tenfold devotion?" "I forgive my enemies, even as I pray for pardon. If God in His Omniscience foresees that hereafter,

should my life be granted to me, I might fail in my devotion, may He rather smite me with instant death!" replied the Cardinal; adding feebly, after an interval, "God's will be done! I ask not, I pray not for life. His will be done!" The sacred rites were then administered. "I was smitten with wonder and amaze at beholding a man raised to the very pinnacle of fortune show so little regard for life, and depart willingly from so magnificent and heroic a destiny," writes one of the spectators of the last hours of Richelieu to the ambassador in Rome, M. de Fontenoy Mareuil. "I admired the gravity and sweetness displayed by him who had charmed all hearts and won all intellectual minds during the last fleeting moments of life." [60]

The sensation in Paris, meantime, was tremendous—the portals of the Palais Cardinal stood open and personages of distinction were passing and repassing every hour during the day and night. While the last Sacraments were being administered a crowd kept possession of the neighbouring streets, awaiting with anxious interest the reports of the messengers hourly despatched to the Louvre.[61] Within the palace the vast apartments were thronged—even the bedchamber of the dying man was thrown open for the convenience of the more eminent amongst the courtiers, who desired to gaze upon the last mortal agonies of the great minister. The following morning, being December 4th, a slight improvement in the Cardinal's condition was reported. He again engaged in

prayer, bade farewell to Chavigny, and thanked his physicians for their care. As the morning advanced however it was evident that Richelieu was fast passing away. At eleven o'clock he fainted but recovered again, and about midday he expired, apparently without much suffering. After recovering from his sudden faint, Richelieu, though speechless, continued in possession of his other faculties up to the last moment.[62] Solemn silence fell on the assemblage present after the great master-spirit of the age had passed from earth. Madame d'Aiguillon then tenderly kissed the lifeless lips, and was led to the door of the appartement by the Duc de Brezé.

The friends of Richelieu then slowly approached to gaze on the corpse. MM. de Guiche and de Brezé advanced first; they were followed by Mazarin and by Chavigny who both wept bitterly. An hour thus elapsed, when by command of the Duc de Brezé, nephew of the deceased Cardinal, the folding doors of the chamber were closed to enable the attendants to perform the last sad offices.

Information of the death of the Cardinal de Richelieu was conveyed to the King by de Noyers. Louis was sitting alone in his dreary chamber overlooking the Seine. He heard the tidings in silence, but a pallor overspread his cheek. At length his Majesty observed while waving his hand in sign of dismissal to de Noyers: "*Voilà un grand politique mort!*"[63]

A post-mortem examination of the Cardinal's remains was made immediately after his death.

His lungs were extensively diseased; and the immediate cause of death was found to be the breaking of an abscess on the left lobe of the lungs. The body was embalmed and lay in state for five days. The funeral obsequies were celebrated with little pomp in the church of the Sorbonne, where the body of the great Cardinal was deposited in the magnificent mausoleum which he had caused to be constructed before the high altar of that church.

By his last will and testament Richelieu confirmed to the King his previous donations of the Palais Cardinal, of his superb golden altar vessels, and of his largest diamond. He, moreover, bequeathed to the King tapestry hangings for eight spacious chambers and three state beds, which were to be selected by the Duchess d'Aiguillon. To Armand de Maillé,[64] Duc de Brezé, his nephew and god-son, he bequeathed the duchy of Fronsac, the duchy of Beaufort, and other lands and manors together with a sum of several millions of livres. To his niece, the Duchess d'Aiguillon, he bequeathed the Hôtel du Petit Luxembourg and his château de Ruel, with an immense revenue, the whole to revert on her death to the Duc de Richelieu. The Duchess also inherited her uncle's jewels and his celebrated service of gold plate. The eldest son of his brother-in-law, the Marquis de Pontcourlay, was the Cardinal's principal heir.[65] To him the duchy of Richelieu was bequeathed, the ancient barony of Barbezièux, the principality of Mortagne, the

counties of Cosnac and Saugeon, and the rich manors of La Ferté, Bernard, Brouage, and d'Hiers, besides a sum of more than three millions sterling. All the furniture of the Palais Cardinal—excepting that bequeathed to King Louis—the splendid galleries of paintings and sculpture, the collections of china, the cabinet of gems and enamels and Venetian glass, were left to the future Duc de Richelieu to furnish the Hôtel de Richelieu. His library was bequeathed by the Cardinal to the nation, under the perpetual guardianship of the members of the Collège de Sorbonne, from amongst whom the librarians were always to be chosen. The amount bequeathed by Richelieu in legacies to his friends and servants alone exceeded the sum of two millions of francs.[66]

NOTES TO CHAPTER NINE

[1] "On soupçonnoit à la Cour de France que Chevreuse vint à Londres pour proposer un mariage entre le Prince d'Espagne, et la fille aînée du Roi de la Grande Bretagne."—Bibl. Imp. MS. de Colbert, t. ii., published by M. Cousin.—Vie de Madame de Chevreuse.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Paul Scarron, born 1610, the first husband of Madame de Maintenon. Madame de Hautefort, on her return to the court, presented the poet to the Regent Anne. "Madame, permettez que je sois votre malade, en titre d'office," exclaimed Scarron, facetiously. Scarron was already crippled and deformed from an immersion of many hours in the river Sarthe to escape the consequences of a youthful frolic in which he had incurred the indignation of his townsmen.

[4] Vie de M. de Cinq-Mars, Grand Écuyer de France. Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis XIII. Tallemant des Reaux. "Nous avons un favori à la cour, qui est M. de Cinq-Mars, fils de feu M. le Maréchal d'Effiat, dépendant, tout-à-fait de Monseigneur le Cardinal. Jamais le roi n'a eu passion plus violente pour personne que pour lui. Sa Majesté récompense la charge de Grand Écuyer qu'a M. de Bellegarde, pour la lui donner. Ce n'est pas un trop vilain début pour un homme de dix-neuf ans."—Lettre de M. de Chavigny à M. de Mazarin.

[5] Marion de l'Orme, born in 1611, died in 1650. "C'étoit une belle personne," relates Tallemant; "le nez lui rougissait quelquefois, et pour cela elle se tenait les matinées entières les pieds dans l'eau." She used to visit Richelieu: "déguisée en page; il la reçut en habit de satin gris de lin, en broderie d'or et d'argent, botté, et avec des plumes." —Tallemant, t. 2, p. 194.

[6] Godefroy, Grand Cérém. de France, t. ii.—Naissance de Monseigneur le Duc d'Anjou, Philippe de France.—Hilarion de Coste, Éloges des Dauphins de France.

[7] "La petite cour de la reine ressembloit à des pensionnaires en récréation—Madame d'Aiguillon faisoit les honneurs avec le Cardinal."—Mém. d'Anne de Gonzague, Princesse Palatine.

[8] Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier, t. 1. Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis XIII., t. 4.

[9] Aubéry, Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. du Card. de Richelieu, t. 5.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Procès Verbal du Procès de Cinq-Mars et de M. de Thou. Tallemant des Réaux.—Vie de M. de Cinq-Mars. Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis XIII., t. 4.

[13] Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis XIII., t. 4, p. 518.

[14] Many persons, however, thought that the Queen, moved by insatiable ambition, and even fearful that untoward revelations might hurl her from the throne, encouraged the malcontents so long as their machinations were confined to France. "M. le Grand a été poussé à son mauvais dessein par la Reine-mère, par sa fille, par la Reine de France, par Madame de Chevreuse, par Montagu, et autres papistes d'Angleterre."—Archives des Affaires Étrangères, France, t. 101. Lettre, 44. Juillet.

[15] "Le Roy s'est afin retourné dans son lit, et m'a dit d'une voix attendrie: 'Bon soir, faite pour le mieux; mais ne commettez point d'imprudence.' Jugez, ma chère princesse, si je ne suis pas autorisé à tout entreprendre!"—Lettre de M. de Cinq-Mars à la Princesse Marie de Gonzague de Nevers.

[16] Louis d'Astarac, Vicomte de Fontrailles. The Cardinal one day encountered Fontrailles in an antechamber of the Louvre, as his Eminence was advancing in haste to receive some ambassador. "Rangez-vous, rangez vous, Monsieur!" exclaimed Richelieu, hurriedly. "Ne vous montrez pas! Cet ambassadeur n'aime pas les monstres!"

[17] Mademoiselle asserts that the Queen was secretly apprised of the treaty by the Duke of Orleans, that she did not disapprove, but resolutely refused to share the peril. The duke was the only personage who was aware of Anne's knowledge, and of her resolve to take no share in the proceedings, but on the contrary, to disavow all relations with the conspirators. The Queen never ceased, it is alleged, to suspect

Richelieu, whatever might be the near *liaison* between them; "Sa Majesté," writes the Duc de Bouillon, "ne douta point que si le Roi venait à mourir, le ministre ne voulut lui ôter ses enfants pour se faire donner à lui-même la régence; aussi par le moyen de M. le Grand, elle voulait assurer sa puissance."

[18] Hist. du Règne de Louis XIII., Le Vassor. Bernard. Mém. de Bouillon, de la Rochefoucauld, &c.

[19] The Duke de la Rochefoucauld, in his Memoirs (p. 362, *et seq.*), affirms that Anne knew of the negotiations of Cinq-Mars with sundry vassals of the crown, and sent M. de Thou to inform him, "de sa liaison avec M. le Grand, et qu'elle lui avait promis que je serois de ses amis." The duke, however, acquits the Queen of any knowledge of the dealings of the conspirators with Spain, of which he states that her Majesty was perfectly ignorant, and disclaimed with horror when they came to light. Apparently Anne wished to profit by the conspiracy, but to avoid its penalties.

[20] Vie de M. de Cinq-Mars; Hist. du Card. Duc de Richelieu.

[21] Anne distrusted the Duke of Orleans, who never ceased to make open declaration of the illegitimacy of the young Dauphin and his brother. Her Majesty, it was alleged, wished to secure the regency by any method, but she shrank in displeasure before a combination, strengthened by the adhesion of Spain, and of which Monsieur was chief, which might hereafter be used against the rights of her son.

[22] Fontrailles replied, in answer to the solicitations of Cinq-Mars not to abandon France: "'Pour vous, Monsieur, vous serez encore d'assez belle taille quand on vous aura ôté la tête de dessus les épaules, mais en vérité je suis trop petit pour cela.' Il se sauva en habit de capucin, comme il étoit allé faire le traité en Espagne."

[23] Richelieu draws a frightful picture in this letter of the probable troubles lurking over the realm: amongst other subjects of alarm he instances, les lettres du Prince d'Orange; la gazette de Brussels et celle de Cologne; les préparatifs de la reine-mère pour venir en France; ce qui s'écrit par lettres sures de Madame de Chevreuse; les avis que viennent d'Italie; les espérances des Espagnols; et la résolution que Monsieur a prit de ne pas venir à la Cour.

[24] Lettre de De Noyers à Chavigny, retourné à Tarascon. Archives des Affaires Étrangères, t. 102. Cousin, Vie de Madame de Chevreuse.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Vie de Cinq-Mars. Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis XIII. San Treijo. Le Vassor. Mém. du Cardinal de Richelieu.

[27] Langlade, Vie de Frederic Maurice de la Tour d'Auvergne, Duc de Bouillon.—Paris, 1692.

[28] Le Vassor, Hist. du Règne de Louis XIII. Bayle Dict. Article Louis XIII. Nouvelle Vie d'Anne d'Autriche, t. 1.

[29] Vol. MS. 101.

[30] Juillet, 1642. Ibid. vol. 102. Archives des Affaires Étrangères de France.

[31] Ibid. MS.

[32] Fontrailles. Relation des choses particulières de la Cour pendant la faveur de M. de Cinq-Mars. Pettitot, vol. 54.

[33] MS. Archives des Affaires Étrangères, vol. 102. Lettre 28 Juillet.

[34] At one of these entertainments, called "Le Ballet des Prospérités de l'armée de France," the Bishop of Chartres handed the salver of refreshments to the Queen. The salver held twenty silver dishes piled with preserved fruits, sweetmeats, and marmalade.—Mém. de l'Abbé de Marolles.

[35] Dreux du Radier. Vie de Marie de' Medici. Mém. de Brienne, t. 2. Motteville Mémoires, t. 1. Siri Mém. Recondite. The following verse was composed in allusion to the place of her interment, near the shrine of the Three Kings in the Cathedral of Cologne :

> "Tres Reges mihi dona ferunt : dat thura Britannus,
> Aurum Iber ; at myrrham tu mihi, Nate, dabis."

[36] Testament de Marie de' Medici, Reine, Mère du Roi.—Journal de Richelieu.

[37] Tallemant des Réaux. The royal words were, "L'âme de Cinq-Mars est aussi noire que le cul de ce poêlon."

[38] Lettre de Cachet au Parlement de Paris sur les Deportments de M. de Cinq-Mars.—Archives Curieuses, t. 5, 2me series.

[39] Ibid. Richelieu assured Monsieur that this submission to the royal will "ne lui porterait aucun déshonneur ; et qu'au contraire s'il le faisait résoluement et noblement, elle passerait pour une acte de bonté et de générosité tout à fait digne d'un grand prince ! " When Richelieu had extorted from the craven Prince all he wanted he speedily changed his tone !

[40] Procès de MM. de Cinq-Mars et de Thou : Archives Curieuses, t. 5. Vie de M. de Cinq-Mars. Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis XIII., t. 4.

[41] Aubéry, Mém. pour servir à l'Histoire de Card. de Richelieu, t. 5. Marie de Fourci, Maréchale d'Effiat. Cinq-Mars had one sister, Marie Coiffier : she was first betrothed to Jean d'Aligre, Seigneur de Beauvais, but eventually married Charles de la Porte, Marshal Duc de la Meilleraye. Their only son was the husband of the heiress of Mazarin, Hortense Mancini.

[42] Langlade : Vie du Duc de Bouillon (Fred. Maurice). See the letters which passed between Richelieu and Madame de Bouillon, Aubéry, t. v.

[43] "On arreta," writes Langlade, "que le Roy auroit la place ; qu'il en donnerait la récompense en terres dans le royaume ; que pendant qu en travailleroit à l'execution des conditions, le duc sorterait de prison."

[44] "Là chaque jour le duc donnait quelques heures à la lecture des Saints Pères, et à la prière."—Langlade, Vie du Duc de Bouillon.

[45] Aubéry, Mém. pour l'Hist. du Card. de Richelieu, t. v.

[46] "Comme le Cardinal était incommodé, il trouva moyen de marcher sans se lever de son lit, y étant couché et porté par seize personnes. Jamais il n'entroit par la porte dans la maison où il devoit loger ; mais M. du Noyers, faisant pour le dire ainsi le maréchal de logis, allait devant, et avoit soin de faire faire une overture à l'endroit des fenêtres de la chambre où il devoit reposer. On dressoit en même temps un grand échafaud dans la rue, sur lequel on montait par des degrés afin que l'on pût passer, et faire entrer dans la chambre, le lit magnifique dans lequel son Eminence était couchée."—Mém. du Sieur de Pontis.

[47] Mém. de Michel de Marolles : Paris, 1656.

[48] "On tendit les chaînes à Paris dans toutes les rues où il devoit passer, afin d'empêcher la grande confusion du peuple, qui accourait de toutes parts pour voir cette espèce de triomphe d'un Cardinal, et d'un ministre couché dans son lit," &c.

[49] Hist. de la Fronde—Sainte Aulaire, p. 72.

[50] Father Joseph de Tremblay died at Ruel in April of the year 1638.

[51] Giulio Mazzarini, born 1592, died 1661.

[52] Henri Joseph de Peyre, Comte de Troisville.

[53] Tallemant—Le Cardinal de Richelieu. "La tête vous a tourné, M. de Chavigny, la tête vous a tourné !" Chavigny ensuite lui jura qu'il avoit dit au Roi, "Sire, il faut que vous le fassiez !"

[54] Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de France, t. 4.

[55] Ibid. Hist. du Cardinal de Richelieu.—Mém. du Sieur de Pontis.

[56] "Le 2 Décembre après de longues solicitations, Louis alla voir Richelieu," &c.

[57] The Cardinal had previously communicated with Mazarin, and had promised to recommend him to the King.

[58] Le Roi ne fut voir le Cardinal qu'un peu avant qu'il mourut, et l'ayant trouvé fort mal, en sortit fort gai.—Tallemant des Réaux.

[59] Madame d'Aiguillon renouvelait tous les ans le vœu de Carmélite ; elle l'a renouvelé sept fois. Le Cardinal fit consulter s'il était obligatoire, on lui repondit que non. "Je vous prie" (said Richelieu on his death-bed) "d'avoir soin de l'éducation des jeunes Pontcourlay, vos neveux, et les miens ; retirez vous, ma nièce, je vous prie—vous êtes la personne que j'ai le plus aimée."

[60] Lettre sur le Trépas de Monseigneur l'Eminentissime Cardinal de Richelieu à Monseigneur le Marquis de Fontenoy Mareuil, Ambassadeur de sa Majesté à Rome. A Paris, 1650.

[61] The King remained at the Louvre ; the Queen was at St. Germain.

[62] Lettre sur le Trépas de l'Eminentissime Cardinal de Richelieu. Galerie des Personnages Illustres, &c., t. 4. Mém. de Pontis, Tallemant, Bassompierre, Motteville ; numbers of detached pamphlets, Le Vassor, Leti, Siri, and MSS. authorities, Bibl. Imp. Beth. : Colbert, &c.

[63] Mém. du Sieur de Pontis, who stood in the guard-chamber adjoining the King's apartment during the visit of de Noyers. "Après," relates

de Pontis, "les Maréchaux de la Meilleraye et de Brezé s'avisa de se jetter aux pieds du Roi, et lui demander sa protection ; le Roi les embrassa et leur dit, qu'il les aimeroit toujours pourvu qu'ils le servissent fidèlement."

[64] Armand de Maillé Brezé, Duc de Fronsac, born 1619, died 1648, son of Urbain de Maillé, Marquis de Brezé, and of Nicole du Plessis, second sister of the Cardinal, who died 1635, insane.

[65] François de Vignerot, son of René de Vignerot, Seigneur de Pontcourlay, and of Françoise du Plessis de Richelieu, eldest sister of the Cardinal. Madame d'Aiguillon was the sister of François de Vignerot, who succeeded, on the death of his uncle, to the dukedom of Richelieu, &c.

[66] Testament du Cardinal de Richelieu.—Hist. du Cardinal de Richelieu, Leclerc, Richard, and Le Père Griffet.—Hist. du Règne de Louis XIII.

CHAPTER X

1643

ANNE OF AUSTRIA A WIDOW

Louis XIII. survived his minister only five months and ten days. The bent figure, the emaciated features, and the feeble voice of the King when he appeared in public for the first time after the decease of Richelieu inspired his loving subjects with painful apprehensions. The deceased Cardinal and his royal master had mutually worn each other out by the bitter irritation of their dissensions. Remorse likewise was said to oppress the King for the death of Montmorency, and his sleep was broken by wailing regrets for his lost favourite, Cinq-Mars. Louis confirmed all the testamentary bequests of the Cardinal, and the court went into mourning for a fortnight. The Queen now made her abode entirely at St. Germain; there is no record of her sentiments on the death of the Cardinal, except that she was much moved by the recital of "the pious end" made by Richelieu. Madame de Motteville says, "*qu'elle n'était pas fort affligée*," but rather absorbed by the novelty of her position in the realm, as mother of two beautiful sons and the wife of a King whose health was evidently on the decline. Mazarin was now constant in his homage to Anne of Austria. Chavigny declared himself her ardent partisan,

and ready to defend her against the atrocious imputations of M. d'Orléans, who avowed his opinion in public at several places in Auvergne and the Orléannois, that Monsieur le Dauphin and his brother were illegitimate, and stated that it was his intention to fight for the succession to the crown. Anne experienced no gentler treatment from the King her husband, "who knew her too well to be deluded by her soft speeches and syren charms."[1] The Queen doubtless found consolation in the brilliant future unfolding before her; she drew nearer every day to the possession of power as Regent of France during a long minority, and Mazarin now hoped to win special graces from her notice. The King though ill and depressed, attended daily to affairs and declared that he would not be teased by a prime minister. He opened all despatches himself, granted pardons, permitted the return of the exiles and did everything in his power to convince his people that the late rigorous and despotic administration had been against his will and contrary to his disposition. The King had immediately recalled his favourite Troisville and reinstated him in his command, which he exercised on the occasion of the Cardinal's funeral. He also released the Marshal de Bassompierre from the Bastille, where that once gay and gallant cavalier had languished ever since the arrest of the Queen-mother at Compiègne, solely because he was a warm admirer of Marie de' Medici, and that he had advised the imprisonment of Richelieu at the secret council summoned

by the Queen-mother at Lyons when the life of the King had been in danger.[2] The Marshal de Vitry, the slayer of the Marquis d'Ancre, also obtained release from the Bastille. The Cardinal had thought that so devoted a servant to his King, and a hand so dexterous in the use of a pistol, was better under the safe custody of his faithful de Tremblay than at large. The Count de Cramail [3] was likewise released; also M. Vaultier, the physician of the late unfortunate Queen-mother. The political exiles, moreover, eagerly sought the clemency of the King. The Ducs d'Elbœuf, de Vendôme, de Bellegarde, de Guise, returned home; swarms of minor personages flocked back again to France. No one seems to have appealed in vain to the mercy of the King excepting the Duchess de Chevreuse and Madame de Fargis. Madame de la Flotte was also reinstated, but Mesdames de Senécé, de Hautefort and de Chémérault, holding that their recall to court ought to have been a spontaneous act of clemency, declined to petition. Madame de Chevreuse received a harsh and decided refusal, indeed the mind of the King appeared so exasperated against her that no one presumed to mention her name.

During the first few days of his independence Louis appeared almost childishly elate with his achievements in the transaction of affairs. Afterwards, his Majesty seemed to move like a man in a dream, during the discharge of the many royal functions which he had suffered to devolve upon Richelieu. M. de Noyers appeared at first likely

to monopolise the royal favour, to the astonishment and annoyance of Chavigny and Mazarin. Previous to the death of Richelieu he had seemed to be particularly obnoxious to the King, who often was so irritated as to make disobliging sallies on his repulsive features and fussy manners. The influence of de Noyers during these first days of emancipation had a twofold source—he was a man of strong, patient endurance and equable nerves, and having far less self-appreciation than Chavigny or Mazarin, suffered the King to vaunt his own powers of decision and penetration. When Louis retreated into his melancholy retirement when the labour of the day was over, de Noyers followed his Majesty and helped him to carve and fit together the little wooden shrines for the reception of relics which it was the King's pastime to fashion. Louis also diverted his mind by playing on the guitar ; he likewise composed an air, to set to the words of the flippant song written by M. Miron, in ironical homage of the deceased Cardinal,. and beginning with the line—

" Ah ! il a passé, il a plié bagage, M. le Cardinal ! "

De Noyers also used his brief influence to ruin Father Sirmond, confessor to the King. Sirmond had insisted on the arrest and execution of M. de Cinq-Mars. The King never forgave his counsels nor his importunity, and subsequently the royal confessions became so meagre and Sirmond's opportunities for admonition so brief,

that he found himself obliged to advise with Richelieu on the matter. Louis, therefore, gladly sent the reverend father a *lettre de cachet*, dispensing with his future services. Le Père Dinet, another Jesuit, succeeded to the vacant office, in which however he was scarcely installed when the death of the King occurred.

The King's health meantime continued gradually to decline, and his failing strength, which during the month of March compelled him frequently to keep his bed, reassured M. de Chavigny, who aspired to the post of first minister. Many matters had to be discussed which were quite out of the political depth of M. de Noyers. Louis, feeling that his life could not be much longer prolonged, decided to settle the important question of how the government of the country should be conducted during the minority of the future King. Chavigny having possessed the entire confidence of the late Cardinal, the King commanded his presence at St. Germain. The nomination of a regent occasioned a bitter struggle in Louis' mind. If Monsieur had been loyal and on good terms with his brother, there can be no doubt that the high office would have been assigned to him. A Prince however who had three times rendered himself amenable to the penalties of treason, and who moreover denied the legitimacy of the Dauphin, could not be safely trusted with supreme power during the minority. Condé, next in succession after Monsieur, was a prince of feeble health, advanced in years and of a character so

peculiar as totally to unfit him for the office; besides, Louis knew his wife well enough to feel sure that she would form a coalition with Monsieur for the restoration of their legitimate authority, rather than submit to such an arrangement. Ancient precedent, public opinion and the aspirations of the feudal nobles of the realm—who all had been under the ban of Richelieu and for the most part exiles from the splendour of the court during the reign of Louis—demanded that Queen Anne might be declared regent of the realm during the minority of her son. The Queen had beauty, fascinating manners, the support of Spain, the *prestige* of her position as Queen-mother, and last though not least, she had won the devotion of Mazarin. By many contemporaries it is believed that Richelieu, appreciating the rare gifts of Mazarin, had specially commended the Queen to his care, and had besought her Majesty to place herself unreservedly under his guidance. Anne moreover, in the presence of the King, had ventured to assert her right to wield the sceptre in the name of her son. Louis therefore understood the entreaties of Chavigny, who besought him "to make so wise and prudent a disposition of the royal power, that on his decease the kingdom might not be plunged into a bloody war either by the insinuations of Monsieur respecting the birth of the future king or by the feuds of rival claimants for power." Mazarin in a few days was summoned to St. Germain, and it was at length resolved to take some decided step to stifle the

pretensions of Monsieur. The project of the deceased Cardinal was revived, and an edict was prepared in which Louis solemnly declared that the Duke of Orleans had forfeited all claim to the regency in the event of a minority. Mademoiselle, the young and spirited daughter of Monsieur, hearing of the decree, proposed to throw herself at the feet of the King as he entered the Chamber to implore its abrogation. This intention coming to the ears of Louis he sternly forbade such intercession. In January 1643, the Declaration against Monsieur received the sanction of the Chambers, on the express and personal demand of the King, who repaired to the Palais in person to present the edict to his faithful commons.[4] Monsieur made no public protest against his exclusion from the regency, but clamoured to be permitted to throw himself at the feet of the King, whose devoted servant he should ever remain, being now delivered from the thraldom of the hated Richelieu. The Abbé de la Rivière arrived in Paris to negotiate his master's return; the Duke made no stipulations but submitted entirely to the good pleasure of the King. The failing condition of the King's health was so well known that no one now opposed the royal will; the sceptre was passing from the hand of Louis—it was for his successor to maintain or to annul any edict given during these his last hours.

The council, meantime, assembled to settle the vexed question of the regency—a matter which admitted of no delay, for the health of the King

from the beginning of April, 1643, began to fail alarmingly, and his Majesty was able only to leave his bed-chamber during a few hours of the afternoon. At length it was determined to name the Queen as Regent, and the Duke of Orleans Lieutenant-Governor of the realm, during the minority. Mazarin addressed the council at length, and his observations appeared greatly to impress the King. Louis, however, could not be persuaded to grant to the Queen unlimited authority as Regent, and the restrictions with which he fettered her authority would have reduced her power to a mere cipher. "You do not know the Queen! You deprecate the evils which arose during the regency of the late Queen, Marie de' Medici, our revered mother; would you therefore behold this realm reduced to worse straits? The Queen needs the guidance and control of a council!"[5] No remonstrances could divert Louis from his resolution or restrain him from exacting the most stringent and binding pledges from all the great functionaries of the realm to maintain his decree intact. The edict commences with a long and wordy preamble, setting forth the benefits which had accrued to the nation during the reign of the King, and stating the love and devotion felt by Louis for his people and the realm. The Queen is then named in the next clause, "as Regent of France," and intrusted with the education of her children and with the administration of the realm during the minority of the young King. "We have good hope and

trust that the virtue and piety of the Queen, our beloved wife and consort, will render her administration prosperous. Nevertheless the office of Regent is a trust of great weight, upon the due discharge of which depends the welfare and glory of the kingdom, and as it is impossible that the Queen can have the requisite knowledge to conduct the course of great and important events, which is acquired only by long experience, we have thought good to name a Council of Regency, by the advice of which, and under her Majesty's authority, state affairs shall be resolved by a plurality of votes. We cannot make a more worthy choice of persons therefore, to compose this Council, than to nominate our very dear and beloved cousins the Prince de Condé, the Cardinal de Mazarin, our very dear and trusty the Sieur Séguier, Chancellor of France, Lord Keeper, and a Knight of our Order, and our very dear and faithful Bouteillier, secretary of finance, and de Chavigny, secretary of state. We will and command that our very dear brother the Duke of Orleans shall be President of the Council of Regency, and in his absence the Prince of Condé, or in default of the said Condé the Cardinal Mazarin. It being our belief that we cannot make a more competent choice of ministers, we forbid this Council to be changed, diminished, or increased for any cause or pretence, excepting by the death of, or by the treason of, any of the above-mentioned high personages; in that case the place may be filled as the lady Regent shall

decree by and with the advice of the said Council. We declare that it is our will that all affairs relating to peace or to war and other matters important to the realm, even to the voting and disposal of the finances, shall be laid before the Council and decided by a majority of votes; also that in the event of the great offices of the crown becoming vacant—those of superintendent of finance, first president, and attorney-general in our Court of Parliament, that of secretary of state, secretary at war, governors of our frontiers and their fortresses—they shall be bestowed by the said lady Regent, with and by the consent and advice of the said Council; neither shall it be considered valid or legal if the said lady Regent shall give such charges and offices without the sanction of her Council. All other and minor offices of the government are to be bestowed after such participation and sanction of the Council. As for the gift of the archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys and benefices generally, appertaining to the crown, they shall be bestowed only on godly and eminent personages who have been at the least three years in holy orders; we desire and decree that the said Lady and Regent, mother of our children, shall follow the example which we have set in the bestowal of these dignities, and that she shall confer them by the advice only of our cousin the Cardinal de Mazarin, to whom we have expressed our earnest desire that God may be honoured by this our nomination. The said Cardinal has given us so many proofs of fidelity

and intellect, in the management of divers important matters within and without our realm, that we believe, after ourselves, we cannot confide the execution of this the most important of our functions to any personage who will more worthily and conscientiously acquit himself thereof." [6]

Such was the paragraph of the royal decree concerning Queen Anne and her functions as Regent of France. Power could not have been more limited, fettered, or reduced to mere outward show. The Queen could not confer the smallest office in the realm or in the King's state household without the previous consent and approval of the Council of Regency. She might decide neither on affairs connected with war, nor assent to a pacification without the Council. She had no power over the revenue, nor could she assign the smallest pecuniary gratification independent of the Council. She could not compel the registration of any edict, nominate the officers of the Royal Guard, or visit offenders with loss of preferment or degradation without the intervention of the Council. In ecclesiastical affairs she was made subservient to Mazarin, who was to wield, almost independently of the Queen, the vast powers and resources of the Gallican Church. The Queen might only appoint, without previous appeal, the officers of her own household and those connected with the nursery establishment of the young King and his brother, or, as his Majesty advanced in years, those subordinate

posts in the palace not already attached in the special gift of some higher officer of the crown.

The paragraph of the celebrated edict relating to the Duke of Orleans was drawn in the following language: "To testify to our very dear brother the Duke of Orleans that nothing has been capable of alienating our affection, we will and decree that he shall be Lieutenant-General of the young King in all the provinces of the realm, to exercise such authority under the Queen Regent and her Council; and this notwithstanding the Declaration registered by our Court of Parliament, which declares the said Duke incapable of holding chief office in the administration of our realm. We trust and rely upon his honour that he will pay implicit obedience to our will, and that he will from henceforth serve the realm and our children with the fidelity and loving kindness which his birth and the many bounties and graces which we have conferred exact. Nevertheless, we declare that in case our said dear brother objects, or rebels against the ordinances contained in this our present Declaration, we will that he be held deprived of the office of Lieutenant-General; and we expressly forbid all or any of our subjects to recognise him or to obey him in such capacity."[7] Monsieur, therefore, received a very guarded bequest of power and was to be controlled in the exercise of his high military powers by the decrees of the Council, which in reality meant the united will of Condé and of Mazarin—as these personages were certain to

exercise despotic authority over their colleagues and to command at will a majority of votes.

Nor was the humiliation of the Queen yet sufficiently palpable and her power as Regent neutralised. A subsequent clause decreed the following against Madame la Duchesse de Chevreuse, who was supposed by the King, as by the greater part of the courtiers, to be her Majesty's bosom friend. "It being our royal will and duty to prevent troubles, and to forestal the evil designs of such of our subjects who might desire to subvert these our arrangements, made for the welfare and prosperity of our kingdom, we, having perfect knowledge of the bad conduct of the Duchess de Chevreuse and of the artifices which she has employed to create divisions in the realm, also being aware of the factious and treasonable intelligences which she still entertains with our enemies, we hereby interdict her return to the realm during the continuance of warfare. We will moreover, that when peace shall be ratified, the said Duchess[8] shall return only by permission of the Queen Regent given with the sanction of the Council. If such permission be conceded, we decree that the royal grace shall be vouchsafed on condition only that the said Duchess never approaches the court nor the person of the said Queen and Regent." The same ban likewise was enforced respecting the unfortunate ex-Keeper of the Seals, Châteauneuf, who was not to receive alleviation of his captivity during the prevalence of war, and afterwards if the Queen and Council

were inclined to exercise clemency in his behalf he was never to appear again at Court.

The edict being decided upon and drawn up with suitable explicitness, Mazarin advised that its terms should be first privately communicated to several leading members of the Parliament of Paris, and to the other personages concerned in its decrees, offering to be himself the medium of such communication. The decree met with a favourable reception from the Parliament, and it was evident would be immediately passed and registered on its formal presentation to the Chamber. Monsieur made no objection—indeed his name appearing at all in the edict of regency might be considered an act of signal grace and forbearance which he owed only to Mazarin. Many uneasy doubts were expressed however on the reception likely to be given to the document by the Queen—the personage most concerned and aggrieved by its arbitrary enactments. Cardinal Mazarin however undertook to present the act to her Majesty and to explain and persuade her into acquiescence. Unless Anne could be induced to take oath to observe the King's will the decree would become null and void. The regency descended to her by right and by precedent; she had possession of the person of the young King and his brother; she commanded the allegiance of that formidable party in the realm—the foes and opponents of Richelieu's policy of repression, who were all ready to hail the Regent, in the hope of speedy restoration to the feudal strongholds

and provincial commands, which in preceding reigns had enabled them to defy the power of the crown. Mazarin accordingly sought audience of the Queen, and his persuasive tongue secured her outward submission to the will of the King. There may have been considerations of high prudence on the part of Anne, in not provoking a contest, of which posterity is not cognizant—considerations, if a particle of truth is to be sifted from the pamphlets, private letters and writings of the day, potent enough not only to strip Anne of Austria of her most ambitious pretensions but which might have precipitated her from the elevation of the throne into the everlasting gloom and seclusion of a cloister. If the Duke of Orleans, the son of Henri Quatre, had been on terms with the King his brother, and if he had been a man of honour, truth, valour and capacity, the last weeks of the unhappy reign of Louis XIII. might have transmitted a startling record on the page of history. Prudence therefore being the better part of valour, Anne agreed to make submissive acceptance of the terms proposed to her. There is little doubt however that Mazarin and the Queen then concerted together the design which they subsequently brought to so successful an issue.[9] Time was precious, and the day following therefore Anne entered the council chamber to take the required oath of adhesion to the articles of the edict concerning her future regency, and to affix her signature to the document. The Duke of Orleans had likewise been

summoned to St. Germain for the same purpose. Did the memory of Anne of Austria then transport her back to her previous summons before the council, when guilty and trembling she confronted the King and his stern minister, and felt that the *prestige* only of her birth had prevented her from being banished from France in disgrace and ignominy? She stood now before the same monarch in the ripe maturity of her charms, still a Queen, the mother of two hopeful sons, the future Regent of the realm, proud, unconquered by past perils and vicissitudes; her great enemy first vanquished and then removed by death, and awaiting the commands of a husband who hated but who still tolerated her, and whose sceptre was about to pass from his dying hand into her own! Anne felt her triumph. Fate had hitherto been adverse, but she seemed to have conquered destiny. The Queen took the pen humbly presented by Mazarin, affixed her signature and took oath for the faithful observance of articles which she had deliberately resolved to do her utmost in concert with Mazarin to annul so soon as life had left the King. M. d'Orléans then went through the same formality—sincerely on his part, as the provisions of the edict gave him an authority which for the time satisfied his ambition. When the act had received due authentication, and the signatures "Louis," "Anne," "Gaston," stood below, with the words added, written by the King's own hand—"*Ce que dessus est ma très expresse et dernière volanté, que veux*

être executée "—Anne arose, and kneeling at the King's footstool, expressed her thanks and devotion. Louis coldly withdrew his hand, which the Queen had clasped, and rising, turned away without uttering a syllable in reply.[10] The act was then countersigned by the three secretaries of state and subsequently presented to the Chambers and passed unanimously.

Louis never more presided at the council-board. The greater part of the day he spent reclining in his *chaise à la Romaine*, which was placed at the window of the Cabinet de la Reine in the Château Neuf de St. Germain, and from which an enchanting view was obtained of the surrounding landscape with the towers of St. Denis in the distance. The King's observations were of the most depressing kind and sometimes very embarrassing to his attendants. "Ah!" said his Majesty one day to Troisville, pointing towards the abbey, "there I shall soon repose—a long repose. My poor body I fear will be roughly shaken going thither—the roads are in bad condition."[11] Another day the eyes of the King gloomily surveyed the train of nobles which followed the Queen one afternoon from the old château, from which her Majesty by the express desire of her consort had not removed. "These people come here to see whether I am quickly dying, especially M. de Beaufort.[12] Ha! if only I could recover I would make them all pay dearly for their wish to see me dead!" It is a remarkable circumstance that the name of Mazarin occurs only once in the minute narrative which we possess of the last lingering

six weeks of the King's life—a time when death to the weary, aching heart and limbs would have been a priceless boon. Mazarin even was absent from the death-chamber of the King, though *de facto* prime minister of France and Cardinal Nuncio. Once and once only he appeared in the halls of St. Germain at this crisis, and that was at the summons of Anne of Austria, to represent the Pope as godfather to the Dauphin. The last day upon which Louis was able to resort to any of his favourite occupations was on the 1st of April 1643. His Majesty on that day spent several hours in colouring caricatures. From that period to the 19th day of the same month he was carried from his bed to his couch for a few hours daily. On Sunday morning, April 20th, the King said on waking, to his first *valet de chambre*, " I do not feel very ill but my strength declines. I prayed to God during the night to shorten my sufferings. I cannot rise. M. Bouvard," continued Louis, addressing one of his physicians, whose turn it had been to watch during the night, " M. Bouvard, I have never had heart concerning my malady. I have requested that you will admonish me when my end approaches. I am dying, I know well." On the same afternoon Louis was lifted from his bed for the last time into his easy chair, by the direction of Chicot, first physician in ordinary. The King fainted, but was wheeled to his favourite window, where M. Chicot read to him, as he could bear it, passages from " La Vie des Saints," and the 17th chapter of the Gospel of St. John.

The mind of the King seems to have been much

agitated at intervals by painful reminiscences of some of the events of his reign, and he was heard to deplore, as a grave dereliction of his duty to his people, that he had suffered the royal prerogative to be exercised so entirely by the remorseless hand of Richelieu. To the Prince de Condé he one day expressed bitter regret that he had assented to the death of the brave and gallant Montmorency whose ancestors had been the loyal upholders of the crown. The King acknowledged that he had been compelled to journey to Toulouse, but had always intended to grant life to M. de Montmorency; he had however finally suffered himself to be over-persuaded by alleged reasons of state. "Remorse has always haunted me, Monseigneur, for this deed. Ah! it is the unhappy lot of rulers to hear nothing but adverse statements against their nearest and dearest friends, relatives and subjects, and to be compelled to act upon political considerations. Happy is the sovereign who has strength to resist such insinuations!" The death of M. de Cinq-Mars was a subject so agitating to the unhappy King that any allusion to it was cautiously avoided.

On the 21st of April, Louis assembled the principal personages of the court around his bed for the last time. His object was to proclaim the Queen as future Regent of France, but bound by the limitations imposed by the Patent of Regency which had now passed the Chamber, Louis neglected no means to impress his will in this respect on the nation, and to make solemn declara-

tion of such in the most public and formal manner possible. "The King performed this action with an air of composure and satisfaction," relates Dubois, a *valet de chambre* in the royal service, to whom posterity is indebted for the most graphic and minute details extant of the last days of Louis XIII.[13] "The Queen was present, also M. le Prince de Condé, M. le Duc d'Orléans, and all the greatest lords of the court; MM. the ministers were likewise present. The King ordered the curtains of his bed to be drawn aside, he then spoke in a low voice to the Queen, to M. his brother, and to M. le Prince. His Majesty then raising his voice addressed the assemblage; he next commanded M. de la Vrillière, secretary of state, to read aloud the edict of the Queen's future regency in order that everybody should hear and note his royal will. M de la Vrillière, much moved by a command which seemed to indicate his Majesty's approaching dissolution, read the edict, standing at the foot of the King's bed, tears falling from his eyes as he proceeded. The Queen also sat at the foot of the King's bed in an armchair, which I had the honour to bring to her Majesty. She also melted into tears, everybody present then began to weep. The reading of the edict over, the King spoke to the Queen,[14] to M. his brother, to M. le Prince, and then to the deputies sent by the Chamber to whom he made many moving observations. The King looked better, his face was flushed with vivid colour, and he appeared calm and in no apprehension of death. When the assemblage

dispersed he conferred for some time with M. de Meaux, his almoner, and with his confessor. In the evening, some pages of the 'Vie des Saints' were read aloud to his Majesty." [15] Probably it was after this formal and affecting recognition of herself and her children that Anne sent Chavigny to Louis with a message, "assuring the King that she had not been the guilty accomplice of M. le Prince de Chalais, but had always been his Majesty's faithful and devoted consort and now very humbly besought his pardon for any misdeed she had unknowingly committed." "M. de Chavigny," replied the King, "in the condition in which I now am it is my duty to forgive the Queen, but I am not bound to believe her statements. Carry my answer to her Majesty." [16] Louis, therefore, went down to the tomb firmly persuaded that he had received deep and vital injury from the Queen his consort.

On the following day, April 22nd, the public ceremony of the baptism of the Dauphin was performed in the chapel of the old palace of St. Germain by the special command of the dying King. The child at his birth had been privately baptized in the Queen's chamber, it having been resolved to defer the public ceremonial until the conclusion of the war. Time was speeding, and it was requisite that the child who would ere long bear the appellation of Most Christian should be publicly received into the bosom of Holy Church. At five o'clock on the evening of Wednesday, April 22nd, the court assembled in the great saloon

of the old palace. Mazarin, Chavigny, the Bishops of Beauvais and Meaux, and other eminent and favoured persons were present. Queen Anne entered the presence chamber leading her son by the hand, who wore a robe or overcoat of cloth of silver.[17] The procession then formed for the chapel thus—the young Dauphin walked, preceded by gentlemen of the chamber and followed by his *gouvernante* Madame de Lansac; the Queen came next, attended by the Princess de Condé, the Countess de Soissons and by the young and lovely bride Anne Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchess de Longueville. Mazarin followed, marching alone, as the representative of his Holiness Urban VIII., godfather to the Dauphin. Most chroniclers however erroneously assert that the Cardinal was himself the sponsor, and that Louis, to secure his loyal devotion to the future child-King by a stroke of policy, had so honoured him. On approaching the altar Anne was received by Séguier Bishop of Meaux, and by six other mitred prelates. The Queen knelt at her *prie-dieu* and the little Dauphin fell on his knees on the same cushion. The Bishop of Meaux, at the conclusion of the anthem—which was "a motett of ravishing harmony"—approached her Majesty. Anne rose and presented her son. Madame de Lansac then lifted the little Dauphin on to the desk of the Queen's *prie-dieu*, upon which a rich cushion had been placed. The Cardinal de Mazarin then took his place at the right of the child, and Madame de Condé as godmother on the left, the

Queen holding her Dauphin from behind by his robe to prevent him from falling. "M. le Dauphin looked as beautiful and as innocent as an angel, kneeling with folded hands, holding his eyes wide open but showing a bashfulness and modesty surprising for a child of his tender years." Madame de Condé, on being asked by the officiating prelate the appellation of Monseigneur, named him Louis. At the ceremony of the anointing, the Queen opened the vest of the Dauphin, and declined the services of Madame de Lansac. When Séguier asked, "*Ludovici abrenuncias Sathanæ, pompis et operibus suis?*" the child answered without being prompted by his mother, "*Abrenuncio.*" To the three interrogatories respecting his faith in the Divine revelation and mysteries, he replied, "*Credo.*" The ceremony concluded by the choir intoning "Regina Cœli"; the procession then formed and returned to the palace.[18] Dubois says, "M. le Dauphin was christened in the old chapel of the palace at St. Germain; all passed in the presence of the Queen without much pomp, on account of the illness of the King. I had a great desire to see this ceremony, and on my return to the King's chamber his Majesty asked me what had passed, and I had the honour of relating to him all I had seen. The Queen, M. le Cardinal, and the court arrived soon afterwards and entertained the King with an account of the good behaviour of M. le Dauphin." Dubois then adds a note at the foot of his page, denying a story current in his day, to wit, "that M. le Dauphin being near the

bed of the King, his Majesty asked him his name. 'Louis XIV.,' promptly replied the young Prince, to which the King is said to have replied, '*Pas encore, mons fils, pas encore!*' "

On the 24th a great panic convulsed the court: the unhappy King was reported to be sinking fast. Dubois again chronicles the events of that exciting day. "Everybody looked in despair: M. de Souvré commanded me to send and tell the Queen that she must come immediately, and bring her children to receive the dying benediction of the King. He afterwards ordered me to be in waiting to receive her Majesty, and to ask her to enter the King's chamber by the small closet. The day was bitterly cold and boisterous. The Queen arrived; I addressed myself to Madame de la Flotte and gave her the message from M. de Souvré. She was about to repeat my words to the Queen, when her Majesty interposed, saying, 'I heard!' The crowd round the portal of the palace was prodigious and the confusion great. A lord present therefore took M. le Dauphin, and another M. d'Anjou, and went through the crowd, leaving the Queen alone in her coach with Madame de la Flotte. Her Majesty called out, 'Is there no personage present to help me? Am I to be left thus?' Hearing her Majesty call and not daring to offer my own services, I plunged amongst the courtiers, and finding M. le Duc d'Uzés, one of the gentlemen of the Queen's household, brought him to the coach, who handed her Majesty into the palace. The Queen went straight to the King's

bed, and throwing herself on her knees by the pillow weeping, talked to the King for some time in private, every one observing that the manner of his Majesty seemed affectionate. Madame la Duchesse de Vendôme, meantime, had got M. d'Anjou in her arms, who was crying desperately because his nurse had been left behind. The Duchess called me, and asked me to pacify the young Prince as well as I could. I carried him therefore into the King's closet, and making him sit on the table, I told him that the King had a little gold horse and that he meant to give it to Monseigneur le Dauphin, and another to himself if he behaved better than his brother. By this stratagem he ceased to cry, and I took him to Madame de Folaine, his nurse, who had been lost outside in the throng." Louis presently gave his benediction to his kneeling wife and children. The room was then immediately cleared, as the King was exhausted by the tumult and for want of air. "*Ah, Messieurs, donnez moi la vie,*" gasped the poor King, making signs for the eager crowd to retreat from the chamber and pointing to the closely shut windows. The end however was not yet; the King rallied again, if such words can be applied to the lethargic stupor into which he sank.

On the 8th of May Queen Anne left the old château of St. Germain to occupy a room separated only by a small octagon chamber from the King's apartment. The public conduct of Anne of Austria at this crisis of her life had been blameless; no devoted wife could have been more punctual in

her visits to the sick chamber, and it was known that she held herself ready at any hour of the day or night to flit between the two châteaux, if her presence should be deemed desirable or necessary. Anne never left the palace but to visit the King ; she granted audiences only to Mazarin and Chavigny and the Bishop of Beauvais ; she held no communication with her exiled friends—not even with Madame de Hautefort. The latter, anxious to be with the Queen on the very day of her proclamation as Regent, had without any communication with Anne ventured up in disguise to Paris accompanied by her Majesty's devoted servant, La Porte. Madame de Hautefort expected on her arrival in the capital to be greeted with the welcome news of the death of the King, instead of which she found the Parisians speculating on the recovery of their liege, as a more favourable bulletin from St. Germain had been that morning posted on the gateway of the Louvre. The pair had travelled to Paris exulting in their future favour when Anne found herself omnipotent, for how could her Majesty, they argued, testify in too marked a manner her gratitude for and appreciation of past services such as their own ? The duo found lodgings with considerable difficulty in a furnished house near the Hôtel de Condé, but fearing that their incognito might be betrayed they crept out of Paris at early dawn on the following morning and retraced their steps towards Blois.[19] The self-command of the Queen was admirable, not a word betrayed her

sentiments respecting the future government of the realm; not a murmur her appreciation of the severity with which her power as Regent was limited. To the Duc de Beaufort only she testified some confidence by giving him a private command never to leave the young Dauphin, but vigilantly to watch the deportment of Madame de Lansac, whom the Queen never seems to have taken into favour.

From the time of her removal to the Château Neuf, Anne shared the vigils of the King's attendants, sitting for hours in the *ruelle* of the bed, a book of Hours in her hand, watching the changeful expression of the sufferer's features or listening with bated breath to his delirious wanderings. M. de Souvré, the Bishop of Meaux, and Dubois were constantly in the chamber, as was also Dinet, the King's confessor. One evening Louis suddenly woke with a start, and said to Condé who was bending over the pillow, "Ha! M. le Prince, I have been dreaming that your son d'Enghien had come to blows with our enemies, and that after a very hard-fought and obstinate battle, we gained the victory and drove our foes from the battle-field." This declaration was afterwards considered as a prediction made by the King of the great battle of Nordlinghen, so gloriously won at the very hour of Louis's waking, by d'Enghien on the plain upon which France and her heretic allies had been beaten in 1634 by the united armies of Spain and the Empire.

On Ascension Day, May 14th, 1643, Louis XIII.

expired. He had endured his long and weary sufferings with touching resignation, and died at length a death of painless exhaustion. His confessor Dinet soothed his last moments, aided by the Bishops of Meaux and de Lisieux. There were present in the death chamber the Queen, the Duc d'Orléans, the secretary of state de Chavigny, the Marquis de Souvré, Condé, the Chancellor Séguier, Madame de Brassac, the Ducs de Liancour and de Beaufort, and the Bishops of Meaux and Lisieux, the royal almoners, and all the ecclesiastical members of the royal household. In an adjoining chamber were many principal courtiers, princesses and ladies, and the First President of the Parliament of Paris. All persons present wept and prayed, while the Bishop of Meaux read the solemn prayers of the Church for a soul departing. Suddenly the King opened his eyes and said in a quick and anxious voice, "Dinet! thoughts arise which trouble me!" "Sire, resist them. Fight under the glorious banner of the Redeemer! struggle for victory! You are now in the thickest of the conflict, we will all aid you with our prayers!" The King spoke no more: Dubois supported his head, while he gently sank and expired at a quarter to three o'clock in the afternoon, May 14th, 1643.

The Duke of Orleans and the Prince de Condé then approached to lead the Queen from the death-chamber. She arose from her knees weeping, and allowed the Princes to conduct her back to her apartment.

Anne of Austria was a Widow,

NOTES TO CHAPTER TEN

[1] "Le roi fit hier assez mauvaise chère à la reine. Il est toujours fort animé contre elle, et en parle à tous moments."—Archives des Affaires Étrangères, France, t. 102.—Cousin, Vie de Madame Chevreuse.

[2] Bassompierre did not long survive his liberation. He died suddenly, in the night of October 12th, 1646, at Provins, and was found dead in his bed.

[3] The Count de Cramail had been imprisoned for his correspondence with Madame du Fargis.

[4] Mém. de Mademoiselle, t. 1.

[5] De Reaux, t. 3, p. 80.

[6] Déclaration du Roi verifiée en Parlement, le 21 Avril, 1643.—Registres du Parlement de Paris.

[7] Déclaration du Roi, &c. Registres du Parlement de Paris.

[8] Louis XIII. commonly alluded to Madame de Chevreuse as "Le Diable."

[9] Anne, however, showed outward discontent at the "officious proceedings of M. de Mazarin," and said, "Que tout son ennemi que fût Richelieu, il n'aurait pas pu lui faire plus de mal que M. de Mazarin, qu'elle accusait d'avoir determiné le roi à ces mesures." Her Majesty feigned to applaud the conduct of M. de Noyers, who finding that his presence at court would no longer be tolerated by Chavigny and Mazarin, retired to his country house, under pretext of displeasure at the "Act to restrain the powers of the future Queen-Regent."

[10] Tallemant, t. 3. Griffet, Règne de Louis XIII.

[11] Another day, calling his faithful Du Pontis to the side of his chair, Louis raised his sleeve and showed his arm, exclaiming, "Tiens Pontis, regarde ce bras. Voilà quels sont les bras du roi de France." "Je vis en effet," relates Pontis, "mais avec un angoisse, et un serrement de cœur que je ne puis exprimer, que c'était comme un squelette, qui avait la peau collée sur les os, et qui était tout couvert de grandes taches blanches."—Mém. du Sieur du Pontis.

[12] The party of the Queen bore the sobriquet of "Importants." M. de Beaufort was recognised as their chief.

[13] Mémoire Fidèle des choses qui se sont passées à la mort de Louis XIII., Roy de France et de Navarre. Fait par Dubois, l'un des valets de chambre de sa Majesté, le 14 Mai, 1643.—Curiosités Historiques, Amsterdam, 1759, in 8vo. Also Archives Curieuses, t. 5.

[14] Leti states (Teatro Gallico), without citing any authority, that the words of the King were, "In nome del Signore cara moglie, é cara fratello, siate ben unite insieme nel governo del Regno e del Delfino mio successore, come del mio fanciulletto, il principe Filippo."

[15] Mém. de Dubois des choses qui se sont passées à la mort de Louis XIII. —Curiosités Historiques.

[16] Mém. du Duc de la Rochefoucault, Petitot vol. 51. The Duke was always a devoted adherent of the Queen.

[17] Queen Anne wore a superb robe of blue velvet, embossed with golden fleurs-de-lis. On her head was a diamond tiara, with a long veil of silver tissue attached.

[18] Godefroy: Grand Cérém. de France, Baptème de Monseigneur le Dauphin, à present Louis XIV., t. 2.

[19] Mém. de La Porte. Petitot, t. 59, p. 394 et seq.

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